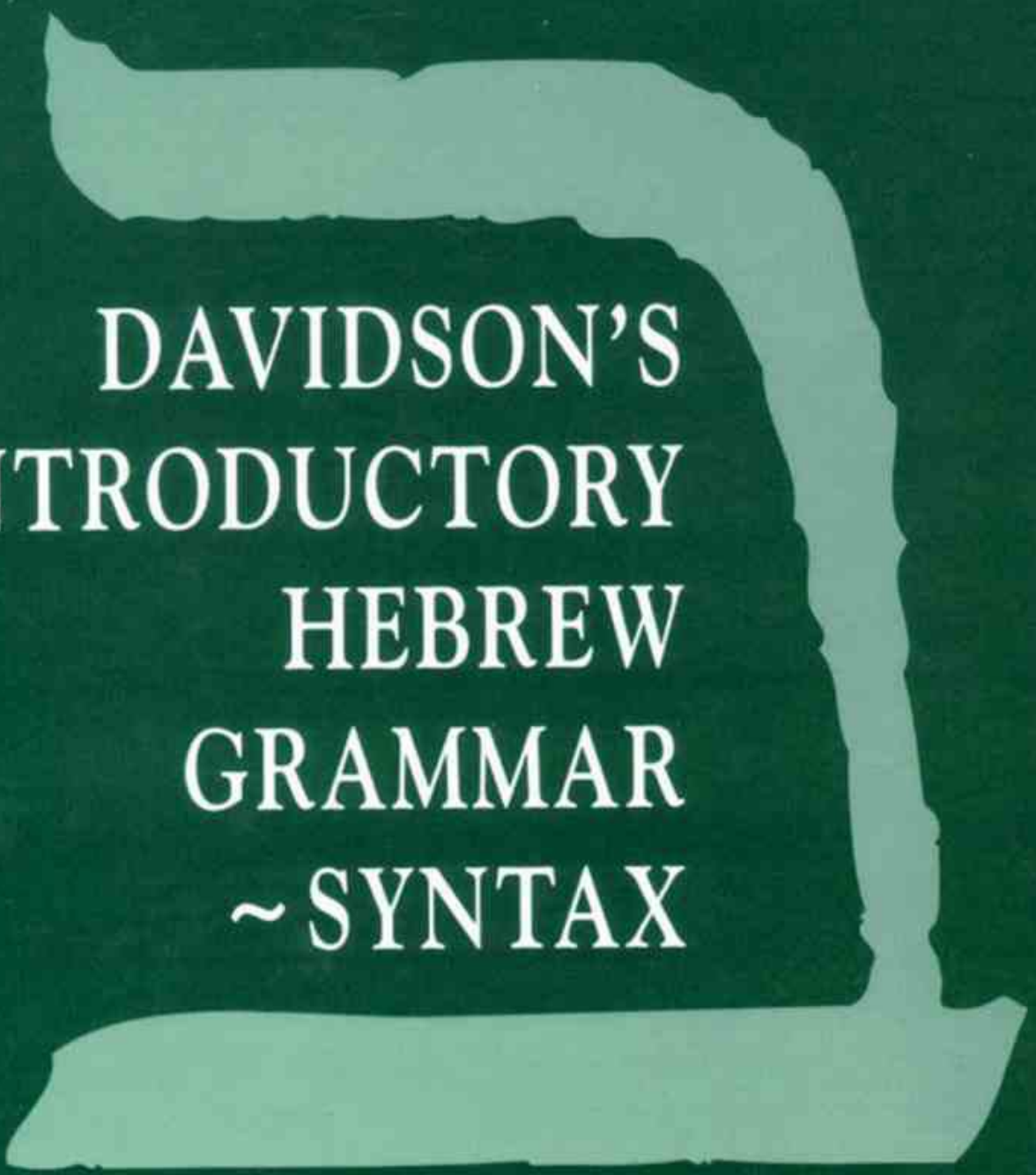
J. C. L. Gibson



DAVIDSON'S INTRODUCTORY HEBREW GRAMMAR ~ SYNTAX

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Fourth Edition

J. C. L. Gibson

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Preface to the Fourth Edition

This revision of Professor Davidson's *Hebrew Syntax* is based on the Third Edition of 1901. It follows broadly that edition's ordering of the topics, and not infrequently its treatment of individual constructions. But, as is only to be expected after so long an interval, a good number of modifications have had to be made to take account not only of subsequent research on points of detail but of modern trends in language study as a whole. Some of the modifications were adumbrated in Dr James Martin's companion volume on *Grammar*; others go beyond what he, understandably, considered appropriate for beginners. In my view the more advanced students for whom this textbook is intended should now be ready for these. I hope that the mixture of the old and the new which results fairly represents the best of current thinking in biblical Hebrew syntax in the last decade of the twentieth century.

I have profited from the reactions of my colleagues and research students at New College to explanations of this or that point of syntax which I have tried out on them; from discussion on matters of common interest which I have had with Dr Martin; and from advice and criticism received from Professor E. J. Revell of the University of Toronto during an extended leave spent in Edinburgh.

Special thanks are due to Craig Ho, Computing Officer at New College, and his wife Carmen who so skilfully word-processed the manuscript.

My last word has to be of A. B. Davidson, whose room at New College I now occupy, and whose portrait looks down on me as I pen this Preface. Even when changing it, I have learned more than I can say from his *Syntax*, and I dedicate this updating of it warmly to his memory.

New College, Edinburgh
June, 1994
J. C. L. Gibson

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Syntax of the Pronoun

Personal Pronouns

§ 1. In their independent forms the Personal pronouns are normally employed only as subject. In other syntactic positions they are attached in the form of suffixes to other words.

(*a*) As a simple pron. standing for a person or thing already mentioned the independent form is most commonly found in nominal clauses. Like a subj.-noun it follows the patterns described in § 49. Thus in a simple declarative clause when the predicate is definite, the pron. precedes it, and the clause is one of identification. Ex. 6. 2 אֲנִי יהוה *I* am Yahweh, Is. 43. 11; 2 S. 12. 7 אַתָּה הָאִישׁ *you* are the man; Gen. 24. 65 הוּא אֲדֹנִי *he* is my master. And when it is indefinite, the pron. follows it, and the clause is one of classification. Ps. 119. 137 צַדִּיק אַתָּה you are *righteous;* Gen. 42. 11 כֵּנִים אֲנַחְנוּ we are *honest men.* The latter pattern may be overridden in a circumstantial clause where, following ו *and,* the order subj.-pred. is obligatory; thus the classifying clause Gen. 18. 27 וְאָנֹכִי עָפָר וָאֵפֶר when I am (but) *dust and ashes.* There are also uncertainties in word order when the pred. of a nominal clause is a suffixed noun or a construct relation or a participle or a prepositional phrase; but these are often more apparent than real and by and large the principle that the placing of the subj. is dependent on the definiteness or indefiniteness of the pred. holds.

(*b*) Sometimes the subj. of a nominal clause is extraposed and is resumed with הוּא. Often there is no added meaning and the pron. functions as a mere copula, Gen. 36. 8 עֵשָׂו הוּא אֱדוֹם Esau *is* Edom. But in other cases there may be a contrast, explicit or implicit, with another person or a particular focus upon the subject. With a nominal subj., 1 K. 18. 39 יהוה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים *Yahweh* (not Baal) is God, Deu. 4. 35, Nu. 16. 7. With a pronom. subj. of 1st pers., Is. 43. 25 אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי הוּא מֹחֶה *I, yes I,* am blotting out (your transgressions); 51. 12; 52. 6. So 1 Chr.

21. 17 *it is I* (אֲשֶׁר) who have sinned. Of 2nd pers., 2 S. 7. 28 אַתָּה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים *you alone* are God, Is. 37. 16; 51. 9, 10, Jer. 14. 22, Ps. 44. 5, Neh. 9. 6, 2 Chr. 20. 6.

(*c*) In verbal clauses the pron. is included or implied in the verbal form and does not require to be expressed except where a subj. is composite. Gen. 7. 1 בֹּא־אַתָּה וְכָל־בֵּיתֶךָ go, *you and all your house*, into the ark, Jud. 7. 10, 11; 11. 38, 1 K. 1. 21, Ru. 1. 6 etc. Or where it fills a necessary slot in a circumstantial or other subj.-verb clause, Gen. 18. 13 וַאֲנִי זָקַנְתִּי seeing *I am old*. 42. 23.

In other contexts where it is used with a verbal form, the pron. generally has more force. It may precede the verb or, less commonly, follow it. Thus in various sent. types (§ 138ff.), pron. preceding: Gen 3. 15 הוּא יְשׁוּפְךָ רֹאשׁ וְאַתָּה תְּשׁוּפֶנּוּ עָקֵב *he* shall bruise your head, *while you* shall bruise his heel; 33. 3; 42. 8, 19; 45. 8 לֹא־אַתֶּם שְׁלַחְתֶּם אֹתִי *it was not you* who sent me here, *but* God, Deu. 3. 28, Hos. 2. 8, Am. 2. 9, 10. Pron. following: Jud. 8. 23 לֹא־אֶמְשֹׁל אֲנִי *I* shall not rule over you ...; Y. shall rule over you, Ex. 18. 19, 22; 20. 19, 2 S. 17. 15, 2 K. 10. 4, Jer. 17. 18. Or to give prominence or focus, pron. preceding: Gen. 16. 5 *I* gave; 24. 60 be *you;* 43. 9, Jud. 5. 3, 1 K. 3. 6, Is. 41. 14; 43. 12. Espec. in response to preceding statements or requests, as Gen. 21. 24 *I will swear;* 38. 17; 47. 30, Jud. 6. 18, 2 S. 3. 13, 1 K. 2. 18. And in the phrase אַתָּה יָדַעְתָּ *you know*, used in arguments and appeals, Gen. 44. 27, Jos. 14. 6, 1 S. 28. 9, 2 S. 17. 8, 1 K. 2. 5, 15, 2 K. 4. 1. Pron. following: Jud. 8. 21 *rise yourself;* 11. 9, 1 S. 20. 8, 2 S. 12. 28, Is. 20. 6 and how shall *we* escape?, Pr. 24. 32, then *I* saw. Espec. in Ecc., 1. 16; 2. 1, 11, 15 etc.

(*d*) An independent pron. may also follow a noun in any syntactic position or a suff. to a noun or verb or prep. With גַּם: Gen. 4. 26 לְשֵׁת גַּם־הוּא to Seth *also;* 4. 22; 10. 21; 27. 34 בָּרְכֵנִי גַּם־אָנִי bless *me too*, 1 S. 19. 23, 2 S. 17. 5, 1 K. 21. 19, Jer. 27. 7, Pr. 23. 15. Occasionally with אַף *also*, Gen. 40. 16; *even*, Pr. 22. 19. Or pron. alone, with more force: Is. 7. 14 יִתֵּן אֲדֹנָי הוּא, the Lord *himself* will give a sign. Deu. 5. 3 כִּי אִתָּנוּ אֲנַחְנוּ not with our fathers ... *but with us*. 1 S. 25. 24 בִּי־אֲנִי הֶעָוֹן *on me* be the guilt. Nu. 14. 32; 18. 23, 1 S. 20. 42, 2 S. 19. 1, 1 K. 1. 26, Hag. 1. 4, Ezr. 7. 21. Cf. suffixed אֵת following suff. to verb, Gen. 30. 20 זְבָדַנִי אֱלֹהִים אֹתִי God has endowed *me* (with a good dowry).

Rem. 1. In nominal clauses where an extraposed pron. refers to God

there is commonly an emphasis on his exclusiveness; many of the exx. come from Is. 40ff., where the peculiar phrase אֲנִי הוּא *I am he* is also found, 41. 4; 43. 10, 13; 46. 4; 48. 12, cf. Ps. 102. 28. In these הוּא seems to be pred. and expresses the divine self-consciousness. Cf. Ex. 3. 14.

Rem. 2. Occasionally indep. form occurs instead of suffix. 2 K. 9. 18 עַד־הֵם. Neh. 4. 17 אֵין אֲנִי, the pron. being co-ordinated with the following nouns. Nah. 2. 9 מִימֵי הִיא *all her days;* elsewhere מִיָּמֶיהָ (1 S. 25. 28). In 1 Chr. 9. 22 הֵמָּה is properly obj. to verb as in Aramaic; Ezr. 5. 12. So Moabite Stone *l.* 18.

Rem. 3. In Pentateuch and occasionally (in some mss. frequently) elsewhere הוּא is common, and the gender is matter of pointing, Ex. 1. 16; no satisfactory explanation of this peculiarity has been found. A 3rd pers. pron. used *neuterly*, i.e. referring back to an action, circumstance etc. just spoken of, is normally attracted to the gender of a nominal complement, Deu. 4. 6 כִּי הִוא חָכְמַתְכֶם for *that* will be your wisdom. Outside Pent. there is often confusion, Ps. 73. 16 (הִיא) a wearisome task *it* (seemed) in my eyes, Job 31. 11 (הִיא, הִוא). Where however the reference is unspecific, the *fem.* is commoner, Jos. 10. 13, Jud. 14. 4, Job 9. 22, particularly if suff., Gen. 24. 14 וְבָהּ אֵדַע and *thereby* I shall know. Is. 47. 7 you did not consider אַחֲרִיתָהּ *the outcome of it.* Gen. 42. 36; 47. 26, Ex. 10. 11, Nu. 14. 1; 23. 19, 1 K. 11. 12. So זֹאת (§ 4, R. 1) and verbal forms, Jud. 11. 39 וַתְּהִי חֹק and *it became* a rule. Is. 7. 7; 14. 24, Am. 7. 6, Job 4. 5.

Rem. 4. There is a tendency, increasing in later Hebr., for *mas.* forms of 3rd pers. and, less frequently, 2nd pers. plur. suffixes to replace fem. Gen. 26. 15; 31. 9; 32. 16, Ex. 1. 21, Nu. 27. 7, 1 S. 6. 7, 10, Is. 3. 16, Job 1. 14, 15, Ru. 1. 8, 9, Dan. 1. 5; 8. 9, Ezr. 10. 3, Neh. 1. 9. In Ezekiel fem. forms are frequently replaced (e.g. 45. 23 ff.) and in Chr. they are absent (1 Chr. 23. 22, 2 Chr. 4. 7, 11 etc). Occasionally independent הֵמָּה stands for fem., Ru. 1. 22, Song 6. 8. See further § 18, R. 2.

§ 2. Suffixed forms of the Pers. pron. are attached to nouns, verbs and prepositions. (*a*) Suffixes to nouns are generally subjective. Gen. 4.1 אִשְׁתּוֹ *his* wife; 4. 10 אָחִיךָ *your* brother. But may be objective, directly: Gen. 16. 5 חֲמָסִי *my* wrong (that done to me), 4. 23; 18. 21, Lev. 10. 3 (those approaching *me*). Or indirectly: Ex. 2. 9: אֶתֵּן אֶת־שְׂכָרֵךְ I will give *your hire*, i.e. give *you* (your) wages, Jud. 4. 9 לֹא תִהְיֶה תִּפְאַרְתְּךָ the glory shall not be *yours*. Gen. 39. 21 וַיִּתֵּן חִנּוֹ gave *him* favour. Ez. 27. 15 rendered *you* tribute. Cf. Hos. 2. 8 (a wall *against her*), Job 3. 10 (the womb *which carried me*).

(*b*) The verbal suff. usually expresses the direct *object*, Gen. 3. 13

הַנָּחָשׁ הִשִּׁיאַנִי the serpent beguiled *me;* 4.8 וַיַּהַרְגֵהוּ and slew *him.* So when אֵת is used, Gen. 40. 4 וַיְשָׁרֵת אֹתָם and served *them;* 41. 10. But often it represents an indirect object, Is. 27. 4 מִי יִתְּנֵנִי who will give *to me,* i.e. would that I had!, Zech. 7. 5 צַמְתֶּנִי אָנִי did you fast *for me?,* Job 31. 18 גִּדְּלַנִי כְאָב grew up *to me* as a father. This kind of construction (instead of prep.) is easier with suff., e.g. Job 6. 4 (are arrayed *against me*), Neh. 9. 28 (cried *to you*), Is. 44. 21 (forgotten *by me*), Gen. 37. 18 (conspired *against him*). Cf. Ps. 42. 5 (moved in procession *among them*).

§ 3. The relation of a noun to its material, quality and the like is often expressed by putting it in the construct state rather than by an adjective, הַר קֹדֶשׁ hill of holiness, *holy* hill. In such cases a suff. belongs to the whole expression, Ps. 2. 6 הַר קָדְשִׁי *my* holy hill, Is. 2. 20 אֱלִילֵי וְהָבוֹ *his* idols of gold; 13. 3; 30. 22, 23; 53. 5. Distinguish from constructions like Gen. 8. 9 כַּף־רַגְלָהּ the role of *its* foot or Lev. 6. 3 מִדּוֹ בַד *his* linen garment (§ 39, R. 1).

The noun with suff. normally (but not always, R. 1) forms a definite expression and a qualifying adj. has the Art. Gen. 43. 29 הֲזֶה אֲחִיכֶם הַקָּטֹן is this *your youngest brother?*

Rem. 1. In certain cases a suffixed noun may be indefinite, namely when it refers to a member or members of a generic class (§ 31); there may be but is not necessarily an implication that other members are in mind, but the expression is sufficiently unspecific to bring about the word order pred.-subj. in a nominal clause. Gen. 20. 5 אֲחֹתִי הִוא *she is a sister of mine,* Jud. 9. 3. Gen. 12. 13 אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ say that *you are my sister.* Lev. 18. 15 אֶשֶׁת בִּנְךָ הִוא *she is your son's wife.* Jos. 9. 11 עֲבָדֶיךָ אֲנָחְנוּ *we are servants of yours.* So sometimes a full constr. phrase, § 29, R. 2.

Rem. 2. The quasi-verbal particles יֵשׁ (*there*) *is* and אֵין (*there*) *is not* always, and the demons. particle הִנֵּה *behold! here!* and the adv. עוֹד when functioning verbally (*is still, yet*) often take verbal suffixes. 1 S. 14. 39 כִּי אִם־יֶשְׁנוֹ though *it* (the guilt) *be* in Jon. my son. Ex. 5. 10 אֵינֶנִּי נֹתֵן *I am not* giving. Is. 65. 1 הִנֵּנִי *here I am!* Gen. 18. 22 עוֹדֶנּוּ עֹמֵד Abr. *was still* standing. But suff. of 3rd pers. is הֵנּוּ (once הֵנָּהוּ, Jer. 18. 3 *Ket.*) and of 1st pers. is בְּעוֹדִי in the sense *while I have being* (Ps. 104. 33; 146. 2) and מֵעוֹדִי *since I had being* (Gen. 48. 15, cf. Nu. 22. 30). Also עוֹדִי *I am still* with you (Ps. 139. 18). Cf. with interr. [אי] *where?* אַיֶּכָּה (Gen. 3. 9) but אַיּוֹ (Ex. 2. 20). § 52-4.

Rem. 3. Ellipsis of suffix. A suff. is often omitted where it can be supplied from the context, particularly after verbs of *giving, bringing, putting, telling* etc. Gen. 2. 19 וַיָּבֵא and brought *them,* 1 S. 17. 31 וַיַּגִּדוּ they told *them,*

1 S. 19. 13 וַתָּשֶׂם she put *them*. Gen. 12. 19; 18. 7; 27. 13, 14; 38. 18, Deu. 21. 12. In poetry *double-duty* suff. is common; this is the name given to a kind of ellipsis whereby a suff. present in one member of a parallelism serves also for a suff. missing in the other. Ps. 17. 8 כְּאִישׁוֹן בַּת־עָיִן like the apple of *your* eye; 107. 20 וַיְמַלֵּט delivered *them*, Job 23. 4 מִשְׁפָּט *my* case. Ps. 17. 14 *their* children; 18. 5 *his* lightnings; 51. 14 *your* generous spirit; 71. 9 *my* old age; 85. 10 *his* glory; 101. 1 *your* love and justice, Job 9. 11 see *him;* 38. 20 show *it;* 40. 24 *his* nose, Pr. 14. 24 *their* folly; 27. 23 *your* herds.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

§ 4. The near Demons. is זֶה, used both as a pron. and as an adj. There is no independent far Demons., though the Pers. pron. הוּא may be used adjectivally for *that.*

The person or entity pointed out by זֶה may already have been mentioned. Ru. 1. 19 הֲזֹאת נָעֳמִי is *this* Naomi? Gen. 9. 17 זֹאת אוֹת־ הַבְּרִית *this* is the sign of the covenant, Deu. 34. 4, Is. 14. 26, Ez. 5. 5. Sometimes in the weakened sense of *such.* Ps. 24. 6 זֶה דּוֹר דֹּרְשָׁו *such* is the generation of those who seek him; 73. 12. Or be about to be mentioned. Gen. 20. 13 זֶה חַסְדֵּךְ *this* is the kindness which you must do to me; 40. 12, Nu. 30. 2, Deu. 12. 1, Jud. 4. 14.

The Demons. may occur in any syntactic position, though it is commonest (see exx. above) as subj. of a nominal identifying clause. Less commonly in a classifying clause, Ex. 2. 6 מִיַּלְדֵי הָעִבְרִים זֶה is this *one of the Hebrews' children?* Otherwise, with slightly more emphasis, as subj. of a verb. Gen. 5. 29 זֶה יְנַחֲמֵנוּ *this one* shall bring us relief, 1 S. 21. 16. As obj., 2 S. 13. 17 שִׁלְחוּ־נָא אֶת־זֹאת send *this woman* away, Gen. 29. 33, Is. 29. 11. Following a prep. or noun in constr., Gen. 2. 23 לְזֹאת יִקָּרֵא *this* (she) shall be called, 1 K. 22. 17. Gen. 29. 27 שְׁבַע זֹאת the week of *this one*, Deu. 25. 16 כָּל־עֹשֵׂה אֵלֶּה all who do *such things.*

Rem. 1. When used neuterly זֹאת is commoner than *mas.* Gen. 42. 18 זֹאת עֲשׂוּ וִחְיוּ do *this* and you shall live. 42. 15 בְּזֹאת *by this* you shall be tested, 1 S. 11. 2 *on this condition.* Is. 5. 25 בְּכָל־זֹאת *for all this*, 9. 11, Hos. 7. 10. Am. 7. 3 עַל־זֹאת *concerning this.* But *mas.* is found, Gen. 6. 15; 24. 9, 2 K. 4. 43.

§ 5. When זֶה is repeated it represents both near and far Demons. and is equivalent to *this .... that, the one .... the other.* Is. 6. 3 וְקָרָא זֶה

אֶל־זֶה and *one* was calling to *the other*. 1 K. 3. 23 זֹאת אֹמֶרֶת ... וְזֹאת *this woman* says ... *and the other* says. Jos. 8. 22 אֵלֶּה מִזֶּה וְאֵלֶּה אֹמֶרֶת מִזֶּה *some* on *this* side *and some* on *that* side. Ex. 14. 20, 2 S. 2. 13, 1 K. 20. 29; 22. 20, Ps. 20. 8; 75. 8, Job 1. 16, Dan. 12. 2.

§ 6. The demons. adjectives זֶה, הוּא *this, that* have the same concord as other adj. But (1) they necessarily make their noun def., הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*, הַיָּמִים הָהֵם *those days*, and have themselves the Art. (2) In the case of nouns determined by pronom. suff., however, they are in appos. without the Art., Jos. 2. 14 דְּבָרֵנוּ זֶה *this business of ours*, Ex. 10. 1 אֹתֹתַי אֵלֶּה *these signs of mine*. Gen. 24. 8, Ex. 11. 8, Deu. 5. 29; 11. 18, Jud. 6. 14, 1 K. 8. 59; 10. 8; 22. 23, Jer. 31. 21, 2 Chr. 24. 18. Exceptionally Jos. 2. 17. (3) With another adj. or several they stand last, 1 K. 3. 6 הַחֶסֶד הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה *this great* goodness (cf. *vs.* 9), Deu. 1. 19 וְהַנּוֹרָא הַהוּא הַמִּדְבָּר הַגָּדוֹל *that great and terrible* wilderness, Gen. 41. 35 הַשָּׁנִים הַטֹּבוֹת הַבָּאוֹת הָאֵלֶּה *those good coming* years. Exceptionally 2 Chr. 1. 10.

Rem. 1. In some cases זֶה stands in appos. without the Art. before a noun. Gen. 2. 23 זֹאת הַפַּעַם *this* time, Is. 23. 13, Ezr. 3. 12, Song 7. 8. Before proper name, Ex. 32. 1 זֶה מֹשֶׁה; Jud. 5. 5, Ps. 68. 9 זֶה סִינַי, though this may mean *He of Sinai*. Before noun with suff., Jos. 9. 12, 13, Song 7. 8. So in later Hebr. הוּא before a proper name with the meaning *the same*, Ezr. 7. 6, 1 Chr. 26. 26.

Rem. 2. In expressing time הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה is used adverbially of present time, Ex. 13. 3, Jos. 3. 7. Less often with בְּ referring to the past, Gen. 7. 11. Cf. more commonly הַיּוֹם *today*, Deu. 30. 15 etc. On the other hand בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא refers either to past or to future time. Past, Gen. 15. 18; 33. 16. Future, Deu. 31. 17, 1 S. 3. 12 and frequently in prophetic speech, Is. 2. 11, 17, 20, Am. 8. 3, 9 etc. Cf. בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם of past, Gen. 6. 4, Jud. 21. 25; of future, Deu. 17. 9. Note anomalously בַּלַּיְלָה הוּא, Gen. 19. 33; 30. 16; 32. 23, 1 S. 19. 10. Cf. Moab. St. *l.* 3 הבמת זאת *this high place*.

Rem. 3. The Demons. זֶה is used with interrogatives to add emphasis to the question, Gen. 27. 21 הַאַתָּה זֶה בְּנִי *are you really* my son Esau? § 7*c*. In the same way force is added to הִנֵּה and עַתָּה, 1 K. 19. 5 וְהִנֵּה־זֶה מַלְאָךְ and *suddenly* an angel. 1 K. 17. 24 עַתָּה זֶה יָדַעְתִּי *now indeed* I know. 2 K. 5. 22 have *just* come to me. And with זֶה preceding, to expressions of time with numerals, Gen. 27. 36 זֶה פַּעֲמַיִם *now twice*, 31. 38 זֶה עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה *twenty years now*, 31. 41; 43. 10; 45. 6, Nu. 22. 28, Deu. 8. 2, Jos. 14. 10, Jud. 16. 15, 1 S. 29. 3, 2 S. 14. 2, Job 19. 3.

Rem. 4. The form זֶה is often a *relative* in poetry. Like אֲשֶׁר it suffers no change for gend. and number. Job 19. 19 וְזֶה אָהֲבְתִי נֶהְפְּכוּ־בִי and *they-whom* I loved are turned against me. Ps. 74. 2; 78. 54; 104. 8, Pr. 23. 22, Job 15. 17. Rarely in prose, Ex. 13. 8. The form זוּ (Ps. 132. 12 זוֹ) is also used. Ex. 15. 13 עַם־זוּ גָּאָלְתָּ the people *whom* you have redeemed.

Rem. 5. Rarer forms are זוֹ and זוּ for זֹאת; אֵל for אֵלֶּה; and הַלָּזוּ, הַלָּזֶה and הַלָּזוֹ for הַזֶּה or הַזֹּאת. See Lex. An anomalous usage is Ps. 80. 15 גֶּפֶן זֹאת *this vine*. Cf. 2 K. 1. 2; 8. 8, 9. For adv. uses with בְּ, כְּ, מִן see Lex., § 15, R. 1*e*.

Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns

§ 7. The pron. מִי *who?* is used of persons, mas. and fem.; and מָה *what?* of things. Both are invariable for gend. and number.

(*a*) The pron. מִי may be used in all syntactic positions. Gen. 3. 11 מִי הִגִּיד לְךָ *who* told you? 24. 65; 33.5, Ex. 3. 11; 15. 11, Is. 6. 8. Gen. 24. 23 בַּת־מִי אַתְּ *whose* daughter are you? 32. 18 לְמִי אַתָּה *to whom* do you belong? 1 S. 12. 3; 24. 15, Ps. 27. 1. Is. 6. 8 אֶת־מִי אֶשְׁלַח *whom* shall I send? 1 S. 12. 3; 28. 11, 2 K. 19. 22. As obj. מִי is always preceded by אֵת. Partitively: 1 S. 22. 14 מִי בְכָל־עֲבָדֶיךָ *who among* all your servants? Is. 36. 20; 42. 23; 43. 9, Hag. 2. 3. With מִן, Jud. 21. 8, Is. 50. 11. Repeated for emphasis, Ex. 10. 8 מִי וָמִי הַהֹלְכִים *who exactly* are to go?

Exclamatory and rhetorical uses are common. In wishes, § 156*b*. Of modesty, Ex. 3. 11 מִי אָנֹכִי *who am I* that I should go?; 5. 2, 1 S. 18. 18. Of insult, 1 S. 25. 10 מִי דָוִד *who is David?*; 17. 26, Job 26. 4. Of surprise, Is. 49. 21 מִי יָלַד־לִי *who has borne me* these? And in general implying a strong negative, Ex. 15. 11 מִי־כָמֹכָה *who is like you* among the gods? Is. 40. 18, 25, Ps. 89. 7; 113. 5. 1 S. 4. 8 מִי יַצִּילֵנוּ *who can deliver us?* Deu. 9. 2, Is. 40. 12; 50. 8, 9, Mal. 3. 2, Ps. 130. 3, Job 9. 12; 13. 19, Pr. 20. 6; 31. 10. Expressing uncertainty, Pr. 24. 22 מִי יוֹדֵעַ *who knows?* 2 S. 12. 22, Est. 4. 14.

(*b*) The neut. מָה is also used in all positions. Gen. 31. 36 מַה־פִּשְׁעִי *what is* my offence? 32. 28, 2 K. 9. 18. Gen. 15. 8 בַּמָּה אֵדַע *by what* shall I know? Rarely after a noun, Jer. 8. 9 wisdom *of what* (what sort of w.)?; Nu. 23. 3. Gen. 4. 10 מָה עָשִׂיתָ *what* have you done?; 15. 2. The אֵת is not used before *what*. Sometimes מָה may be translated *why?* Ex. 14. 15, 2 K. 7. 3.

With adj. and verbs מָה often has the sense of *how?*, *how!* Gen. 28. 17

מַה־נּוֹרָא *how* terrible! 2 K. 4. 43 מָה אֶתֵּן זֶה לִפְנֵי מֵאָה אִישׁ *how* shall I set such a thing before a hundred people? Ex. 10. 26, Ps. 133. 1, Job 9. 2; 31. 1. Other rhetorical uses are similar to those with מִי: Gen. 23. 15; 44. 15, Jud. 8. 1, 2, 1 K. 12. 16, 2 K. 8. 13, Ps. 8. 5, Job 22. 13, Lam. 2. 13.

(*c*) The interrog. prons. strengthen themselves by זֶה in questions. 1 S. 17. 56 בֶּן־מִי־זֶה הַנַּעַר *whose* son (I wonder) is the lad? 1 S. 10. 11 מַה־זֶּה הָיָה לִבֶן־קִישׁ *what in the world* has come over the son of Kish? Gen. 3. 13; 27. 20, Jud. 2. 2; 18. 24, 2 S. 12. 23, 1 K. 21. 5, Ps. 24. 8. § 6, R. 3.

§ 8. In indirect questions the Interrog. remains without change. Gen. 21. 26 לֹא יָדַעְתִּי מִי עָשָׂה I do not know *who did it;* 43. 22, Deu. 21. 1, Jos. 24. 15, 1 S. 17. 56. Mic. 6. 8 הִגִּיד לְךָ אָדָם מַה־טּוֹב he has shown you, O man, *what is good,* Gen. 2. 19; 37. 20, Ex. 2. 4, 1 S. 2. 5. The Interrogs. are also used as indef. pron., *whoever, whatever.* Jud. 7. 3 מִי־יָרֵא ... יָשֹׁב *whoever is afraid* ... let him return. Ex. 32. 26 מִי לַיהוה אֵלָי *whoever is for Y.,* to me! 2 S. 18. 12 שִׁמְרוּ מִי have a care, *whoever you be!* Ex. 24. 14, Is. 54. 15. 1 S. 19. 3 וְרָאִיתִי מָה וְהִגַּדְתִּי לָךְ and if I see *anything* I will tell you. 2 S. 18. 23 וִיהִי־מָה אָרוּץ *come what may,* I will run. Nu. 23. 3, Job 13. 13; 26. 7, Pr. 9. 13. In some clauses of this form, however, the strict interrog. sense is probably still to be retained, Deu. 20. 5, Jud. 10. 18; 21. 5, Is. 50. 8. The form מִי אֲשֶׁר is also used, Ex. 32. 33, 2 S. 20.11, cf. מַה־שֶּׁ, Ecc. 1. 9.

Rem. 1. The neut. מָה may be used of persons if their circumstances are being enquired of, as 1 S. 29. 3 *what* are these Hebrews (doing here)? On the other hand, מִי is used of things when the idea of a person is involved, Jud. 13. 17 *what* is your name? Gen. 32. 28; 33. 8, Deu. 4. 7, Mic. 1. 5. Cf. Am. 7. 2, 5 *how* can Jacob stand?

Rem. 2. In phrases like מַה־בֶּצַע *what profit?* (Gen. 37. 26), the noun is used adverbially (more accurately, adnominally). Ps. 30. 10, Is. 40. 18, Mal. 3. 14, Ps. 89. 48, Job 26. 14. The construction is clearer when the words are separated, Jer. 2. 5 עָוֶל ... מַה־מָּצְאוּ *what* (with respect to) *evil* did your fathers find in me? 1 S. 20. 10; 26. 18, 2 S. 19. 29; 24. 13, 1 K. 12. 16.

Rem. 3. These uses of מָה are to be noted. Jud. 1. 14 מַה־לָּךְ *what to you?,* i.e. *what troubles you, is the matter with you, do you mean?* Gen. 21. 17, 1 S. 11. 5, Jon. 1. 6. And expecting a negative answer, Jud. 11. 12 מַה־לִּי וְלָךְ *what have I to do with you?* 2 S. 16. 10; 19. 23. 2 K. 9. 18, 19 מַה־לְּךָ וּלְשָׁלוֹם. Cf. Jer. 2. 18, Ps. 50. 16.

Rem. 4. For other interrogs. see §§ 152ff.

The Relative Pronoun and Relative Clauses

§ 9. The pron. אֲשֶׁר is indeclinable. Its usage differs according as it is preceded by or as it contains an antecedent.

When the antecedent is expressed אֲשֶׁר serves merely to connect the antecedent to the relative clause. The kind of connection is specified by a pron. referring back to the antecedent and agreeing with it in gend., numb., and person. A resumptive adv. of place may replace the pron. This pron. or adv. is often understood. The antecedent is usually definite, less commonly indef. The relative clause may be either nominal or verbal.

(*a*) When the resumptive pron. is subj. it is expressed in a nominal clause which contains an adj. or a suffixed noun. Gen. 7. 2 the animal אֲשֶׁר לֹא טְהֹרָה הוּא *which is not clean*, Nu. 9. 13, Gen. 9. 3. Deu. 17. 15 a foreigner אֲשֶׁר לֹא־אָחִיךָ הוּא *who is not your brother*. But not often otherwise, Gen. 3. 3 הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ הַגָּן the tree *which is in the middle of the garden*. In a verbal clause the pron. is represented by the verbal inflexion, as 15. 7 אֲנִי יְ׳ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ I am Y., *who brought you out*, unless expressed in terms of § 1*c*.

(*b*) When the pron. is obj. (in a verbal clause) it is often expressed, Gen. 45. 4 אֲנִי יוֹסֵף אֲשֶׁר מְכַרְתֶּם אֹתִי I am Jos. *whom you sold*, Ps. 1. 4 כַּמֹּץ אֲשֶׁר תִּדְּפֶנּוּ רוּחַ like the chaff *which the wind drives*. Gen. 21. 2, Ex. 6. 5, 2 K. 19. 4, Jer. 28. 9; 44. 3. But oftener omitted, Deu. 13. 7 אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדַעְתָּ gods *whom you have not known*. Gen. 2. 8; 6. 7; 12. 1, Jud. 11. 39; 16. 30, 1 S. 7. 14; 10. 2, 2 S. 15. 7.

(*c*) When the resumptive pron. is suffix to a noun or prep., Deu. 28. 49 גּוֹי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תִשְׁמַע לְשֹׁנוֹ a nation *whose tongue you do not understand*. Gen. 24. 3 the Canaanites אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי יוֹשֵׁב בְּקִרְבָּם *among whom I dwell*. 28. 3 הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה שֹׁכֵב עָלֶיהָ the land *on which you lie*. Gen. 1. 11; 38. 25, Ex. 4. 17, Nu. 22. 30, Deu. 1. 22, Ru. 2. 12. In these cases the pron. requires to be expressed.

After words of time the prep. and suff. is however frequently omitted, so that אֲשֶׁר is equivalent to *when*, Gen. 45. 6, Jud. 4. 14, 2 S. 19. 25 עַד־הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּא until the day *when* (in which) he came in peace, 1 K. 22. 25, cf. Gen. 6. 4 בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם וְגַם אַחֲרֵי־כֵן אֲשֶׁר in those days and also afterwards *when*. 40. 13.

(*d*) With adv. of place, Gen. 13. 3 הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר הָיָה שָׁם אָהֳלֹה the

place *where* his tent was. 20. 13 כָּל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר נָבוֹא שָׁמָּה every place *whither* (to which) we shall come. 3. 23 הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר לֻקַּח מִשָּׁם the ground *whence* (from which) he was taken. Gen. 19. 27; 31. 13; 35. 15, Ex. 20. 21. Ex. 21. 13, Nu. 14. 24, Deu. 30. 3. Gen. 24. 5. The adv. may be omitted, esp. when the antecedent noun has prep., Gen. 35. 13, Nu. 13. 27, Ps. 84. 6.

§ 10. The word אֲשֶׁר often includes a pronom. antecedent, i.e. it is equivalent to *he-who, that-which, they-who, whom* or, indefinitely, *one-who* etc. In this case it admits prep. and אֵת. It occurs in any syntactic position. Gen. 7. 23 וַיִּשָּׁאֵר אַךְ־נֹחַ וַאֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ בַּתֵּבָה and only N. was left and *they-who* were with him in the ark. 43. 16 and he said לַאֲשֶׁר עַל־בֵּיתוֹ to *him-who* was over his house, 44. 1. 32. 24 he sent across אֵת־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ *what* he possessed. 31. 1 וּמֵאֲשֶׁר לְאָבִינוּ of *that-which* is our father's. 9. 24 וַיֵּדַע אֵת אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה לוֹ בְּנוֹ he knew *what* his son had done to him. 2 K. 6. 16 רַבִּים אֲשֶׁר אִתָּנוּ מֵאֲשֶׁר אוֹתָם more are *they-who* are with us than *they-who* are with them (for אִתָּם). Jud. 16. 20 the dead whom he slew in death רַבִּים מֵאֲשֶׁר הֵמִית בְּחַיָּיו were more than *those-whom* he slew in his life.

Rem. 1. The resumptive pron. is not usually omitted when suff. is involved, cf. Lev. 5. 24; 27. 24, Ru. 2. 2, Is. 8. 23; but sometimes even then, Is. 8. 12; 31. 6, Hos. 2. 14; 13. 10.

Rem. 2. The adv. *there, thither* etc. is omitted after the compounds בַּאֲשֶׁר, בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר, אֶל אֲשֶׁר, עַל אֲשֶׁר, מֵאֲשֶׁר, in designations of *place*, Ex. 5. 11; 32. 34, Jos. 1. 16, Jud. 5. 27, 1 S. 14. 47; 23. 13, 2 S. 7. 9; 8. 6; 15. 20, 1 K. 18. 12, 2 K. 8. 1. In Gen. 21. 17 *there* is expressed in a nominal clause.

§ 11. In both constructions in §§ 9, 10 אֲשֶׁר need not be used and the relative clause is in appos. to the antecedent (§ 9) or is a noun-equivalent (§ 10). The omission of אֲשֶׁר is typical of poetry but is sometimes found in prose. It is commoner with indef. antecedent.

When there is an antecedent, אֲשֶׁר may be omitted.

(*a*) When the resumptive pron. is subj., and whether this pron. is expressed (implied in the verb) or not. Deu. 32. 15 וַיִּטֹּשׁ אֱלוֹהַּ עָשָׂהוּ he forsook God *who made him; vs.* 17 new gods *which* had lately come. Jer. 13. 20; 31. 25, Is. 10. 3; 30. 5; 40. 20; 55. 13; 56. 2, Mic. 2. 10, Zeph. 3. 17, Job 31. 12. Particularly in comparisons, Jer. 14. 8 וּכְאֹרֵחַ נָטָה לָלוּן like a

traveller *who turns aside* for a (single) night's lodging, *vs.* 9; 23. 29; 31. 18, Hos. 11. 10, Ps. 38. 14; 42. 2; 49. 13; 83. 15; 125. 1, Job 7. 2; 11. 16, Lam. 3. 1, Hab. 2. 14. So in nominal clauses, Jer. 5. 15 גּוֹי אֵיתָן הוּא a nation *which is ancient.* Gen. 15. 13 בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם in a land *which is not theirs.* Gen. 39. 4, *cf. vs.* 5, Hab. 1. 6, Ps. 85. 5, Pr. 26. 17.

(*b*) When the resumptive pron. is obj., whether it is expressed or not. Deu. 32. 17 אֱלֹהִים לֹא יְדָעוּם gods *whom* they knew not, cf. Jer. 44. 3. Is. 42. 16 בְּדֶרֶךְ לֹא יָדָעוּ in a way *which* they do not know. Is. 6. 6; 15. 7; 55. 5, Ps. 9. 16; 18. 44; 118. 22, Job 21. 27. In comparisons, Nu. 24. 6 כַּאֲהָלִים נָטַע י׳ like aloes *which* Y. has planted. Jer. 23. 9, Ps. 109. 19, Job 13. 28.

(*c*) When the resumptive pron. is attached to noun or prep. Jer. 5. 15 גּוֹי לֹא־תֵדַע לְשֹׁנוֹ a people *whose* speech you shall not understand. 2. 6. בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא עָבַר בָּהּ אִישׁ *through which* no one passes. Deu. 32. 37, Ex. 18. 20, Ps. 32. 2 (cf. Jer. 17. 7), Job 3. 15. With omission of pron., Is. 51. 1 הַצּוּר חֻצַּבְתֶּם the rock *out of which* you were hewn, Job 38. 26.

§ 12. Omission of אֲשֶׁר *he-who* etc. Is. 41. 24 תּוֹעֵבָה יִבְחַר בָּכֶם an abomination is *he-who* chooses you, Jer. 8. 13, Ps. 144. 2, Song 8. 5. Nu. 23. 8 מָה אֶקֹּב לֹא קַבֹּה אֵל how can I curse *him-whom* God has not cursed! (next clause without pron.). Ps. 12. 6 אָשִׁית בְּיֶשַׁע יָפִיחַ לוֹ I will set in safety *him-whom* they snort at, Is. 41. 2, 25, Job 24. 19. After prep. etc., Jer. 2. 8 אַחֲרֵי לֹא יוֹעִילוּ הָלָכוּ *after things-that* do not profit they have gone, cf. *vs.* 11. Ex. 4. 13 שְׁלַח בְּיַד תִּשְׁלָח send *through him-whom* you (care to) send. Is. 65. 1 נִדְרַשְׁתִּי לְלוֹא שָׁאָלוּ I was (ready to be) sought *by those-who* did not ask. Lam. 1. 14 בְּיָדֵי לֹא אוּכַל קוּם *into the hands of those-whom* I cannot withstand. Jer. 2. 11, Ps. 65. 5, Job 34. 32, 1 Chr. 15. 12, 2 Chr. 1. 4; 16. 9.

Rem. 1. Such cases as 1 S. 10. 11 מַה־זֶּה הָיָה, 1 K. 13. 12 אֵי־זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ הָלַךְ are probably to be construed: what is this *that* has happened? which is the way *that* he went? Gen. 3. 13, Jud. 8. 1, 2 K. 3. 8. Similarly after מִי הוּא, 1 S. 26. 14, Is. 50. 9, Job 4. 7; 13. 19.

Rem. 2. In naming אֲשֶׁר is not used. The usual construction is a circumstantial clause, 1 S. 1. 1 וּשְׁמוֹ אֶלְקָנָה *whose* name was E., 9. 1, 2; 17. 12, 2 S. 3. 7 etc. Less frequently by a relative clause without אֲשֶׁר, Job 1. 1 אִיּוֹב שְׁמוֹ, 1 S. 17. 4, 23, 2 S. 20. 21, Zech. 6. 12. In naming God there are exceptions, perhaps due to liturgical usage, Ex. 15. 3, Is. 57. 15, Am. 5. 27, Jer.

46. 18. In naming two persons a construction with *the one ... the other* or similar is used, Gen. 4. 19; 10. 25; 11. 29, Ex. 18. 3, 1 S. 1. 2; 14. 49, Ru. 1. 4 etc. In identifying places parenthesis is usual, Gen. 14. 2 בֶּלַע הִיא־צֹעַר *Bela, i.e. Zoar*, cf. *vss.* 3, 17.

Rem. 3. In poetic parallelism אֲשֶׁר is sometimes omitted with *and* and a verb. Mal. 2. 16 וְכִסָּה *and* (I hate) *him-who* covers. Is. 57. 3 וַתִּזְנֶה (seed of an adulterer) and of *her-who* is a harlot. Am. 6. 1 וּבָאוּ *and* (woe to) *those-to-whom* the house of Israel comes!

Rem. 4. Some instances of omission of אֲשֶׁר in late prose are: Ezr. 1. 5, Neh. 8. 10, 1 Chr. 15. 12; 29. 3, 2 Chr. 1. 4; 16. 9; 20. 22; 30. 19.

§ 13. In some exx. where the antecedent is expressed, whether or not אֲשֶׁר is present, the antecedent is in the constr. state before the relative clause. Particularly in designations of time and place, Gen. 40. 3 מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יוֹסֵף אָסוּר שָׁם *the place where* Jos. was confined. Is. 29. 1 קִרְיַת חָנָה דָוִד *the city where* D. encamped. 1 S. 25. 15 כָּל־יְמֵי הִתְהַלַּכְנוּ *all the days* we went with them. Ex. 6. 28 בְּיוֹם דִּבֶּר יי *on the day* Y. spoke. Gen. 39. 20, Lev. 13. 46; 14. 46, Nu. 3. 1; 9. 18, Deu. 32. 35, 2 S. 15. 21, 1 K. 21. 19, Jer. 22. 12; 36. 2, Hos. 1. 2; 2. 1, Ps. 4. 8; 18. 1; 56. 4, 10; 59. 17; 90. 15; 102. 3; 104. 8 (זֶה); 138. 3, Job 6. 17, 2 Chr. 29. 27. Probably therefore יוֹם in Deu. 32. 35 (cf. לְעֵת), Job 3. 3 (contrast הַלַּיְלָה) etc.; and possibly Gen. 1. 1 בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא in the beginning *when* God created, cf. Hos. 1. 2. Also occasionally with other words? Gen. 49. 9 Benj. is זְאֵב יִטְרָף a wolf *which* ravins (a ravining w.). Ps. 81. 6 שְׂפַת לֹא יָדַעְתִּי a voice (lip) *which* I did not know. Jer. 48. 36.

Rem. 1. It is possible that some exx. cited earlier of antecedents like אִישׁ, דֶּרֶךְ etc. are constr., but equally that some cited in § 13 are not if they occur in poetry, which dispenses often with the Art.

Rem. 2. On זֶה, זוּ as relatives, § 6, R. 4. Also used as relative is שֶׁ, joined to the following word; it is regular in Song, Ecc., but it is not restricted to late passages. Following antecedent, Jud. 7. 12, Jon. 4. 10, Ps. 122. 3; 124. 8, Song 8. 8, Lam. 2. 15. *He who* etc., Ps. 137. 8, 9, Song 1. 7; 3. 1, Ecc. 1. 9, 1 Chr. 27. 27. Resumptive element omitted, Ps. 122. 4, Ecc. 1. 7 (constr.); 12. 3.

Other Pronominal Expressions

§ 14. The want of a reflexive pron. is supplied in various ways. (*a*) By the use of reflexive forms of the verb (Niph:, Hith.). Gen. 3. 10

וְאֶחְבֵּא *and I hid myself.* 45. 1 לֹא יָכֹל לְהִתְאַפֵּק he was unable *to control himself.* 3. 8; 42. 7, 1 S. 18. 4; 28. 8, 1 K. 14. 2; 20. 38; 22. 30.

(*b*) By the ordinary personal pron., simple or suff.. Is. 7. 14 יִתֵּן אֲדֹנָי הוּא *the Lord himself* will give, § 1*c*. Jud. 3. 16 וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ Ehud made *for himself.* Ex. 32. 13 to whom you swore בָּךְ *by yourself.* Jer. 7. 19 הַאֹתִי הֵם מַכְעִיסִים הֲלֹא אֹתָם do they provoke *me?* is it not *themselves* etc? Gen. 3. 7; 33. 17, Ex. 5. 7, 19, Is. 3. 9; 49. 26; 63. 10, Hos. 4. 14, Pr. 1. 18, Job 1. 12.

(*c*) By a separate word, esp. נֶפֶשׁ. Am. 6. 8 Y. has sworn בְּנַפְשׁוֹ *by himself.* 1 S. 18. 1, 3. Plur., Jer. 37. 9. So לֵב, לֵבָב, קֶרֶב *heart.* Gen. 8. 21 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־לִבּוֹ י׳ and Y. *thought with himself.* 18. 12 Sarah laughed בְּקִרְבָּהּ *within herself.* Gen. 24. 45, 1 S. 1. 13; 27. 1, Hos. 7. 2. Deu. 7. 17; 9. 4, 1 K. 12. 26, Is. 47. 8, Jer. 5. 24, Ecc. 2. 1 and *passim.* Also פָּנִים *face, presence, self.* 2 S. 17. 11 וּפָנֶיךָ הֹלְכִים בַּקְּרָב *you yourself* going into battle. Ez. 6. 9 וְנָקְטוּ בִּפְנֵיהֶם they shall loathe *themselves.* Ex. 33. 14, Deu. 4. 37, Ez. 20. 43; 36. 31, Job 23. 17. In ref. to *things,* עֶצֶם *bone, self-same, very.* Gen. 7. 13, Ex. 24. 10, Ez. 24. 2.

§ 15. The *indefinite,* unnamed pronom. subj. (Engl. *they, one*) is expressed in various ways. (*a*) By 3rd pers. sing. of verb, e.g. in naming, Gen. 11. 9 עַל־כֵּן קָרָא שְׁמָהּ בָּבֶל׳ therefore *one called* its name Babel (its name *was called*). Gen. 16. 14; 21. 31, Ex. 15. 23. (3rd plur. in 1 S. 23. 28, 1 Chr. 11. 7; 14. 11.) Otherwise, Is. 7. 24 בַּחִצִּים וּבַקֶּשֶׁת יָבֹא שָׁמָּה with bow and arrows *one, men will come* there; Ex. 10. 5 וְלֹא יוּכַל לִרְאוֹת הָאָרֶץ so that *no one shall be able* to see the earth. Gen. 38. 28; 48. 1, 1 S. 23. 22; 26. 20, 2 S. 15. 31; 16. 23, 1 K. 18. 26, Is. 6. 10; 8. 4; 14. 32; 40. 6 (and (*another*) *cried,* § 72, R. 3), Am. 6. 12, Mic. 2. 4. So by 3rd fem. of verb יָלַד, 1 K. 1. 6, and *he was born* next after Abs., Nu. 26. 59. Sometimes the cognate ptcp. is used as subj., Is. 28. 4 אֲשֶׁר יִרְאֶה הָרֹאֶה אֹתָהּ which *one, a man* (the seer) *sees; vs.* 24. Nu. 6. 9, Deu. 22. 8, 2 S. 17. 9, Is. 16. 10, Jer. 31. 5, Ez. 33. 4, Mic. 5. 2 (fem.).

(*b*) By 3rd plur. Gen. 29. 2 for from that well יַשְׁקוּ *they watered* the flocks (the flocks *were watered*); 1 S. 27. 5 יִתְּנוּ־לִי מָקוֹם *let* a place *be given* me. Gen. 41. 14; 49. 31, 1 S. 1. 25, 1 K. 7. 2; 15. 8, Jer. 8. 4; 16. 6 (sing. and plur.), Job 6. 2; 7. 3, Pr. 9. 11, 2 Chr. 25. 16.

(*c*) By ptcp., usually in plur. Gen. 39. 22 אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עֹשִׂים שָׁם הוּא הָיָה עֹשֶׂה whatever *was done* there, he was the doer of it. Is. 32. 12,

Jer. 38. 23, Neh. 6. 10, 2 Chr. 9. 28. More rarely sing., Is. 21. 11 אֵלַי קֹרֵא *one is calling* me from Seir

(*d*) Rarely by 2nd pers. (indef. *you*), except in the phrase עַד־בֹּאֲךָ *till you come* = as far as, Gen. 10. 19, 30; 13. 10, 1 K. 18. 46. Apparently Is. 7. 25 לֹא תָבוֹא שָׁמָּה *no one will come* there. In Prov. the sing. *you* is the pupil of the wise man, but cf. Pr. 19. 25; 26. 12; 30. 28, where the reference seems more general.

Rem. 1. Some other quasi-pronominal expressions are these: (*a*) *Some, several* may be expressed by plur. Gen. 24. 55 יָמִים *some* days; 40. 4 (cf. 27. 44; 29. 20 יָמִים אֲחָדִים *a few* days). Ez. 38. 17. By prep. מִן with noun. Gen. 30. 14 give me מִדּוּדָאֵי בְנֵךְ *some of* your son's mandrakes. Jer. 19. 1 מִזִּקְנֵי הָעָם *some of* the elders. Ex. 17. 5, Ps. 137. 3.

(*b*) *Any, every* by כֹּל. Deu. 16. 21 as an Ashera כָּל־עֵץ *any* (kind of) tree. Nu. 35. 22. Followed by plur., Gen. 3. 1; 4. 14, Lev. 4. 2. With neg., *none, nothing*, Deu. 28. 14, Jud. 13. 4, Ps. 143. 2. *Any one, one* by אִישׁ. Gen. 13. 16 אִם יוּכַל אִישׁ *if one* were able. *Anything*, דָּבָר Gen. 18. 14. *No, none* by לֹא ... אִישׁ; *nothing* לֹא ... דָּבָר. Gen. 45. 1 לֹא עָמַד אִישׁ *none* stood. Hos. 2. 12 אִישׁ לֹא יַצִּילֶנָּה *none* shall deliver her. 2 K. 10. 25 אִישׁ אַל־יֵצֵא let *no one* go out. Ex. 16. 19. Deu. 2. 7 לֹא חָסַרְתָּ דָּבָר you lacked *nothing*, 22. 26, 2 S. 17. 19, 1 K. 18. 21. Sometimes strengthened by כֹּל, 2 S. 18. 13. The phrase לֹא ... מְאוּמָה *nothing*, 1 S. 12. 4, cf. Gen. 22. 12. Indefinite uses of verbal subj., *one, they*, § 15 above.

(*c*) *This ... that, the one ... the other*, by זֶה ... זֶה, § 5, or אֶחָד ... אֶחָד, Ex. 17. 12, 1 K. 3. 25. *One another* by אִישׁ ... אָחִיו or אִישׁ ... רֵעֵהוּ, Gen. 13. 11; 11. 3, Ex. 16. 15; 32. 27, Is. 3. 5; *fem.* Ex. 26. 3, 5, Ez. 1. 23, Is. 34. 16.

(*d*) *Each* distributively by אִישׁ, Jud. 9. 55 וַיֵּלְכוּ אִישׁ לִמְקֹמוֹ; 7. 7, 1 S. 8. 22; 10. 25, 2 S. 6. 19, the noun usually sing., but usually plur. with *tents*, Jud. 7. 8 the men of Israel he dismissed אִישׁ לְאָהָלָיו *every one to his tents*. 1 S. 13. 2. — Also by אֶחָד Is. 6. 2, Jud. 8. 18. With אִישׁ extraposed (*casus pendens*), Gen. 42. 35 הִנֵּה־אִישׁ צְרוֹר־כַּסְפּוֹ *every man's* bundle of money; 15. 10; 41. 12; 42. 25, Nu. 17. 17. So peculiarly Gen. 9. 5 מִיַּד אִישׁ אָחִיו at the hand of *every man's* brother, Zech. 7. 10; cf. 8. 17.

(*e*) *Such* is expressed by weakened זֶה (§ 4) or by כְּ with זֶה or suff., Gen. 44. 7 כַּדָּבָר הַזֶּה *such a thing*, plur. Gen. 39. 19. 41. 38 כָּזֶה *such a one*, Jer. 5. 9 *such a nation*. Jud. 19. 30 כָּזֹאת *such a thing*. Gen. 44. 15 אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר כָּמֹנִי *such as I*, 2 S. 9. 8. — 2 S. 17. 15 כָּזֹאת וְכָזֹאת *such and such*. Jos. 7. 20, 2 K. 5. 4; 9. 12. For *so and so* (person) Ru. 4. 1. Cf. 1 S. 21. 3; 2 K. 6. 8.

(*f*) Hebr. lacks possessive pron. and *mine, ours, yours, theirs* etc. are expressed by prep. and suff. Is. 43. 1 לִי אַתָּה you are *mine*, Gen. 48. 5. Gen. 26. 20 לָנוּ הַמַּיִם the water is *ours*. Jer. 44. 28 they shall know דְּבַר מִי יָקוּם

מִמֶּנִּי וּמֵהֶם whose word shall stand, *mine or theirs*. Also by אֲשֶׁר לִי, Gen. 39. 5 or שֶׁלִּי, Song 1. 6.

Syntax of the Noun and Nominal Clause

Gender

§ 16. Hebrew has only two genders, conventionally called *mas.* and *fem.*, though distinguishing between male and female animate beings is only one of their functions. Nouns are classified as mas. or fem. by using different uninflected forms or by using the uninflected form for mas. and a form with the ending ה (and variants) for fem. Gender is extended from the noun to adj. and verbs with which it is linked (concord).

In the case of animate beings, distinction of gender is indicated —

(*a*) By the fem. termination, as אַיָּל *a hart*, fem. אַיָּלֶת *a hind;* עֶלֶם *a youth*, fem. עַלְמָה *a maid;* עֵגֶל *a calf*, fem. עֶגְלָה.

(*b*) By different words, whether uninflected or inflected, as אָב *father*, אֵם *mother;* אִישׁ *man, husband*, אִשָּׁה *woman, wife;* עֶבֶד *servant*, אָמָה *maid;* חֲמוֹר *he-ass*, אָתוֹן *she-ass;* אַיִל *ram*, רָחֵל *ewe.*

(*c*) Or the same word may be used for both genders (epicene). The noun may be gramm. mas., as אֲלָפִים cattle (only plur.), בָּקָר *large cattle* (coll.; plur. *head of cattle*), דֹּב *bear*, זְאֵב *wolf*, כֶּלֶב *dog*, פֶּרֶא *wild ass;* or fem., as אַרְנֶבֶת *hare*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, יוֹנָה *dove*, נְמָלָה *ant*, צֹאן *small cattle, sheep, goats* (coll.). Occasionally gramm. concord is *ad sensum*, Gen. 32. 16 גְּמַלִּים מֵינִיקוֹת *milch camels*, 2 K. 2. 24 שְׁתַּיִם דֻּבִּים *two she-bears;* but not normally, Gen. 24. 63 גְּמַלִּים בָּאִים *camels were coming*, Hos. 13. 8 דֹּב שַׁכּוּל *a bear robbed of her cubs.* In Jer. 2. 24 פֶּרֶא mas. is oddly construed as both mas. and fem. In Deut. נַעַר is both *boy* and *girl*, but with the expected concord. Hebr. has no word for *goddess*, and אֱלֹהִים has to be used, 1 K. 11. 5.

§ 17. Of inanimate things the following classes of unmarked nouns are usually fem. —

(*a*) Proper names of countries and cities, as בָּבֶל *Babylon*, צִידוֹן *Sidon.* Words like מוֹאָב *Moab* etc. when used as name of people are usually mas., but fem. when the name of a country. Perhaps therefore a

head noun like אֶרֶץ *land of* and עִיר *city of*, both fem., or עַם *people of*, mas., is to be understood. Thus place names with בַּיִת, mas., are mas., as בֵּית לֶחֶם *Bethlehem*, בֵּיתְאֵל *Bethel*, as are (with נָהָר mas. understood) names of rivers, as פְּרָת *Euphrates*, הַיַּרְדֵּן *Jordan*, even if fem. in form, as אֲמָנָה, 2 K. 5. 12 (*Qere*). However, גַּן־עֵדֶן is fem., though גַּן *garden* is mas., Gen. 2. 15. Naturally fem. is בַּת צִיּוֹן (Is. 1. 8), בַּת־צֹר (Ps. 45. 8) etc. of inhabitants or people; the plur. בָּנוֹת refers to female inhabitants.

(*b*) Common names of definite places, as districts, quarters of the earth etc., as עִיר *city*, תֵּבֵל *the world*, כִּכָּר the *circle* (of the Jordan), שְׁאוֹל *Hades* (mas. as personified, Is. 14. 9), תֵּימָן the *south*, צָפוֹן *north*, Is. 43. 6. But there are exceptions. אֶרֶץ is occasionally mas., תְּהוֹם *deep* is both mas. and fem., שָׁמַיִם plur. *heavens* is always mas., as is יָם *sea*, נָהָר *river*.

(*c*) The names of instruments, utensils used by man, and members of the body, particularly such as are double, as חֶרֶב *sword*, כּוֹס *cup*, נַעַל *shoe;* עַיִן *eye*, אֹזֶן *ear*, רֶגֶל *foot*, etc. So of animals, קֶרֶן *horn*. Again there are exceptions, as mas. אַף *nose, nostrils*, עֹרֶף *neck*, פֶּה *mouth*.

(*d*) The names of the elements, natural powers and unseen forces, as אֵשׁ *fire*, נֶפֶשׁ *soul*, רוּחַ *wind, spirit* (usually), שֶׁמֶשׁ the *sun* (usually), but יָרֵחַ *moon* is mas.

§ 18. In addition to its role in indicating female animate beings, the fem. ending is used for these classes of nouns. — (*a*) It is preferred for abstract nouns, as אֱמֶת *truth*, גְּבוּרָה *strength*, though some abstracts are mas., as חַיִל *strength*, כָּבוֹד *glory*, or plur., § 20*b*. There are also a number of mas./fem. pairs, as עֵזֶר and עֶזְרָה *help*, צֶדֶק and צְדָקָה *righteousness;* attempts to distinguish between the two forms semantically have not been successful. Cf. Is. 3. 1 (hendiadys). Many of the abstracts are adj. and ptcp. used nominally, as רָעָה *evil*, Hos. 5. 9; נֶאֱמָנָה *a sure thing*, Am. 3. 10; נְכֹחָה what is *straightforward*, cf. Mic. 3. 9. Esp. in plur., Gen. 42. 7 קָשׁוֹת *harsh things, harshly*, Is. 32. 4, 8 מֵצָחוֹת *clear things, plainly*, נְדִיבוֹת *liberal things*. Cf. Nu. 22. 18; 24. 13, Jos. 2. 23; 3. 5, 2 S. 2. 26, 2 K. 8. 4; 25. 28, Is. 26. 10; 28. 22; 30. 10; 42. 9; 43. 18; 48. 6; 58. 11; 59. 9; 64. 2, Zeph. 3. 4. The mas. plur. is sometimes used in poetry, Ps. 16. 6, 11, Pr. 8. 6 נְגִידִים. Cf. also Gen. 2. 9 טוֹב וָרָע.

(*b*) Collectives, which are often *fem.* of ptcp., as אֹרְחָה *a caravan* (from אֹרֵחַ *a traveller*), גּוֹלָה *captivity* (גּוֹלָה *captive, exile*), יְשֻׁבַת

inhabitants, Is. 12. 6 אֹיֶבֶת *enemy* (of a people), דַּלָּה *the lower classes*, 2 K. 24. 14, Jer. 40. 7, plur. Jer. 52. 15, 16. Cf. Mic. 4. 6, Zeph. 3. 19, Ez. 34. 4.

(*c*) The *fem.*, however, sometimes is used as *nomen unitatis* when the mas. is coll., as אֳנִי *fleet*, 1 K. 9. 26, אֳנִיָּה *a ship*, Jon. 1. 3, 4; שֵׂעָר *the hair*, 2 S. 14. 26, שְׂעָרָה *a hair*, Jud. 20. 16, 1 K. 1. 52 and prob. Job 9. 17 (*for a hair*), but coll. 4. 15; שִׁירָה *a song*, Is. 5. 1, mas. generally coll. 1 K. 5. 12, though also singular, e.g. Is. 26. 1. So מֶרְכָּבָה *a chariot*, Gen. 41. 43 with מֶרְכָּב, 1 K. 5. 6. Perhaps פִּשְׁתָּה *wick*, Is. 42. 3; 43. 17, cf. Hos. 2. 7, 11, *flax*.

Rem. 1. Sometimes the fem. of a mas. noun is used with a figurative sense, as יָרֵךְ *thigh, loins* (sing. and plur.), יְרֵכָתַיִם du. *sides* (of locality); מֵצַח *forehead, front*, מִצְחָה *shin-front, greave;* יוֹנֵק *suckling child*, יוֹנֶקֶת *sucker, shoot.*

Rem. 2. As in other lang. with only two gend., mas. is the prior. In the case of suff., § 1, R. 4; adj. § 42, R. 3. In the case of verbs, the mas. is apt to be used for the 3 plur. fem. YIQTOL, 1 K. 11. 3, Song 6. 9, even in cases like Gen. 20. 17. For plur. imper., Is. 32. 11, Zech. 6. 7. For 2 sing. fem. YIQTOL, Is. 57. 8, Jer. 3. 5. These tendencies should not be cited to underscore the andocentric nature of OT religion, which is based on a single male deity. This belief, however, has a few surprising gramm. corollaries, e.g. the epicene noun אֱלֹהִים *God* and *goddess*, and the mas. verb in Deu. 32. 8 צוּר יְלָדְךָ *the rock which bore you*, cf. Jer. 30. 6.

Rem. 3. The fem. is preferred to express the neuter, § 1, R. 3.

Number

§ 19. Like gender, number is a category of the noun extended from it to other parts of speech. Number distinguishes between the sing. and plur. (and in some surviving cases, dual) of countable persons, animals and things; but it also has other functions.

§ 20. Many nouns are used only in plur. — (*a*) Such words as express the idea of something composed of parts, e.g. of several features, as פָּנִים *face*, צַוָּארִים *neck* (also sing.), or of tracts of space or time, שָׁמַיִם *heavens*, מַיִם *water*, עֲבָרִים *region on the other side*, Is. 7. 20; חַיִּים *life*, עוֹלָמִים *eternity*, Is. 45. 17, נְצָחִים *id.*, נְעוּרִים *time of youth*, זְקֻנִים *time of old age*, etc.. Cf. מַרְגְּלוֹת *area around feet*, Ru. 3. 4, סְפָרִים *a letter* (also sing.), 2 K. 20. 12, Jer. 29. 25.

(*b*) Some abstract nouns, as סַנְוֵרִים *blindness*, בְּתוּלִים *virginity*,

מֵישָׁרִים *uprightness*, כִּפֻּרִים *atonement*, זְנוּנִים *whoredom*, שְׁלֻמִים *requital*, תַּהְפֻּכוֹת *perversity*, etc. The plur. may express a combination of the elements or characteristics composing the thing, or of the acts realising it, or simply intensification (*c*). See also § 21, R. 2, 3.

(*c*) The plur. may also express an *intensification* of the sing. (the so-called plur. of eminence or majesty). So אֱלֹהִים *God*, and analogically קְדוֹשִׁים *Holy One*, Hos. 12. 1, Pr. 30. 3, עֶלְיוֹנִים *Most High*, Dan. 7. 18, and ptcp. used nominally of God: of עָשָׂה, Is. 54.5, Ps. 149. 2, Job 35. 10, cf. Is. 22. 11; of עָזַר, Ps. 118. 2; of נָטָה, Is. 42. 5. Ptcp. as pred., Jos. 24. 19. This is not a survival of polytheism, though the idea of God in council may be gramm. exploited, Gen. 1. 26; 2. 22. See also § 26, R. 3. Similar words are אֲדֹנִים *lord, master*, of God, Deu. 10. 17, Ps. 8. 2; 136. 3, of human, 1 K. 1. 43 and בְּעָלִים *owner, master*, only of human, Ex. 21. 29, Is. 1. 3, Job 31. 39, Ecc. 7. 12. Plur. ptcp. of humans, Jud. 11. 35 *a sore trouble to us*, Is. 10. 15 *him who wields it*. Plur. of mythological creature: Ps. 74. 13 תַּנִּינִים *the monster*, Job 40. 15 *Behemoth* (*the* beast). So apparently תְּרָפִים *teraphim*, even of one image.

§ 21. Many nouns in sing. have a *collective* meaning. Collectives which do exclusive or regular duty for the plur. are אָדָם *humankind*, אֱנוֹשׁ *id.*, טַף *children;* בָּקָר *cattle*, בְּהֵמָה *id.*, (domestic) *beasts*, חַיָּה (wild) *beasts*, צֹאן *sheep, goats*, רֶמֶשׂ *worms*, רֶמֶשׂ *creeping things*, עוֹף *birds;* דֶּשֶׁא *grass, vegetation*, זֶרַע *seed*, חָצִיר *grass, herbage*, עֵשֶׂב *plants, herbage*, פְּרִי *fruit;* דִּמְעָה *tears*, רֶכֶב *chariots*. But many other words may on occasion be used in the sing. as coll., as אִישׁ *men*, נֶפֶשׁ *persons*, אַרְבֶּה *locusts*, שׁוֹר *oxen*, Gen. 49. 6, עֵץ *trees*, Gen. 3. 8, אֶבֶן *stones*, עִיר *cities*. 1 K. 22. 47 הַקָּדֵשׁ *hierodouli*, 2 K. 11. 10 הַחֲנִית *spears* (beside a plur.), 2 K. 25. 1. 1 K. 16. 11 רֵעֵהוּ *his comrades* (beside a plur.), 1 Chr. 20. 8. Frequently in enumerations, e.g. חָלָל *slain*, 2 S. 23. 8; נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה *young virgins*, Jud. 21. 12; מֶלֶךְ *kings*, 1 K. 20. 1 (more usual Jud. 1. 7); גֶּפֶן *vines*, Is. 7. 23; מָשָׁל *proverbs*, 1 K. 5. 12; and expressions like עֹשֵׂה מִלְחָמָה *warriors*, 2 Chr. 26. 13; רֹעֵה צֹאן, Gen. 47. 3, cf. 2 K. 24. 14; הַסַּבָּל *the burden bearers*, Neh. 4. 4. In these occasional usages the nouns are equivalent to *class* nouns, which often prefer the sing. (§ 31). See also Numerals, § 47, R. 1.

Rem. 1. Apart from the Num. שְׁנַיִם *two*, מָאתַיִם, *two hundred*, אַלְפַּיִם *two thousand*, the dual only occurs with some human or animal bodily

members, אָזְנַיִם *ears*, כְּנָפַיִם *wings*, and with some units of measurement and time, אַמָּתַיִם *two cubits*, יוֹמַיִם *two days*. In the first case the dual often serves as plur. after numerals and כֹּל, e.g. Is. 13. 7 כָּל־יָדַיִם; and where there is a plur. form, it may have a figurative sense, קַרְנַיִם *horns* (of animal), קְרָנוֹת *horns* (of altar). Several nouns with apparently dual endings are not duals but plur. (מַיִם *water*, שָׁמַיִם *heavens*) or unexplained (צָהֳרַיִם *noon*, מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*, unless this refers to Upper and Lower Egypt).

Rem. 2. When sing. is coll., the plur. may break it into its units or elements, as עֲצִים *timber* (pieces of wood); חִטִּים *wheat* in grain, 2 S. 17. 28 (חִטָּה *wheat* in crop, Ex. 9. 32); דָּמִים spilt *blood*, Gen. 4. 10.

Rem. 3. Some abstract nouns have both sing. and plur. forms, the latter perhaps intensifying the idea of the sing., 1 S. 2. 3 דַּעוֹת *knowledge*, Jud. 11. 36 *vengeance*, Is. 40. 14 *understanding*, Ps. 16. 11 *joy*, Ps. 88. 9 *abomination*. Cf. § 20*c*. So probably in the case of other words where both sing. and plur. are used with sing. meaning, esp. in poetry: Gen. 49. 4 *bed* (both sing. and plur.), Ps. 63. 7; 2 K. 22. 20 *grave*, Job 17. 1; Zech. 9. 9 *ass;* Ps. 46. 5 *habitation*, 132. 5.

Rem. 4. The plur. is sometimes used to express uncertainty or choice, Deu. 17. 5 *to* (one of) *your gates*, Jud. 12. 7 *in* (one of) *the cities* of Gilead, Neh. 6. 2.

Rem. 5. The ending in the divine title אֲדֹנָי is probably not a 1st pers. sing. suff. with an intensive plur., but an otherwise unattested ־ָי with honorific function; cf. Ez. 29. 16 (God speaking), Dan. 9. 9 (A. our God) but also Ps. 35. 23.

Rem. 6. Plur. of compound expressions are variously formed. Nu. 1. 2 בֵּית אָבוֹת *father's houses, clans*, 1 S. 31. 9 בֵּית עַצַּבֵּיהֶם *their idol temples*. — Jos. 1. 14 גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל *men of valour, wealth*, Jer. 8. 14 עָרֵי הַמִּבְצָר *fenced cities*. — 1 Chr. 7. 5 גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל; Gen. 42. 35 צְרֹרוֹת כַּסְפֵּיהֶם *their bundles of money*, 1 K. 13. 32 בָּתֵּי הַבָּמוֹת *the houses of the high places*.

Gender and Number Concord

§ 22. On concord with adjectives see §§ 41, 42: with numerals §§ 46ff. The transfer of gender and esp. number from nouns to the verbal predicate is particularly complicated. Three general tendencies are to be noted —

1. When the verb, as ideally it does, stands first, there is a tendency for it to be put in its most basic form, the 3 *mas.* sing.

2. There is a tendency to construe according to *the sense* rather than the grammar, hence gramm. singulars, such as collectives, are often

joined with plur. verbs, esp. when they refer to persons.

3. On the other hand, there is a tendency for plur. nouns, esp. when they refer to animals or are abstract plur., to be construed with a 3rd pers. *fem. sing.* verb (a use connected with other non-sexual uses of the gender, § 18).

§ 23. Agreement of simple subj. — (*a*) When subj. precedes the pred. (as e.g. in a circumstantial clause), there is general agreement in gend. and numb., whether the subj. be person or thing. Gen. 15. 12 וְתַרְדֵּמָה נָפְלָה *a deep sleep fell; vs.* 17 וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בָּאָה when *the sun was gone down;* 16. 1. But exceptions occur, Mal. 2. 6 וְעַוְלָה לֹא־נִמְצָא *evil was not found.* Gen. 15. 17 וַעֲלָטָה הָיָה *and it was dark.* Ex. 12. 49, Jer. 50. 46, Zech. 6. 14, cf. *vs.* 7, Job 20. 26.

(*b*) When verb precedes, while agreement in gend. and numb. is usual, esp. when subj. is personal, the verb is often in 3 sing. mas., even though the subj. be plur. or fem. This is common with הָיָה *to be.* Gen. 1. 14 יְהִי מְאֹרֹת וְהָיוּ *let there be* lights, and *let them be* signs. Is. 17. 6 חָזַק מִמֶּנּוּ הַמִּלְחָמָה וְנִשְׁאַר־בּוֹ עֹלְלוֹת *gleanings shall be left;* 2 K. 3. 26 *the battle was too strong* for him, cf. *vs.* 18. Deu. 32. 35, Is. 13. 22; 24. 12, Jer. 36. 32. Nu. 9. 6 וַיְהִי אֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ, 1 K. 11. 3 וַיְהִי־לוֹ נָשִׁים שָׂרוֹת *he had* seven hundred *wives, princesses.*

(*c*) Subjects in dual are necessarily joined with plur. pred., verb or ptcp. Gen. 48. 10 וְעֵינֵי יִשְׂ֫רָאֵל כָּבְדוּ מִזֹּקֶן the eyes of Israel *were dim* from age. 2 K. 21. 22; 22. 20. Contrast 1 S. 4. 15, Mic. 4. 11 (§ 25). Ptcp., 1 S. 1. 13, 2 S. 24. 3, Is. 30. 20, Hos. 9. 14, 2 Chr. 16. 9.

§ 24. Agreement of composite subj. When the subj. consists of several elements joined by *and.* — (*a*) When subj. is first the verb is usually plur. 2 S. 16. 15 וְאַבְשָׁלוֹם וְכָל־הָעָם בָּאוּ Abs. and all the people *came,* Gen. 8. 22; 18. 11. But sometimes the verb is sing., agreeing either with the word next it or with the chief element of the composite subj., or the several parts of subj. all forming one conception. 2 S. 20. 10 Joab and Abishai his brother רָדַף *pursued.* Hos. 4. 11 whoredom and wine and new wine יִקַּח־לֵב *take away* the understanding. Hos. 9. 2, Deu. 8. 13. Neh. 5. 14 אֲנִי וְאַחַי לֹא אָכַלְתִּי neither I nor my brothers *ate.* 2 S. 3. 22, Est. 4. 16. If parts of the subj. be of different gend. pred. is usually mas., Gen. 18. 11, but cf. Jer. 44. 25.

(*b*) When the verb is first it perhaps oftenest agrees in gend. and

numb. with the element of the subj. which is next it; but it may be in plur. When the subj. has once been mentioned following verbs are in plur. Gen. 31. 14 וַתַּעַן רָחֵל וְלֵאָה וַתֹּאמַרְנָה R. and L. *answered and said;* Nu. 12. 1 וַתְּדַבֵּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן ... וַיֹּאמְרוּ Mir. and Aaron *spoke and said;* Gen. 3. 8 וַיִּתְחַבֵּא הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ *hid themselves.* Gen. 7. 7; 9. 23; 21. 32; 24. 50, 55; 37. 7; 44. 14, Jud. 5. 1; 8. 21, 1 S. 11. 15; 18. 3; 27. 8, 1 K. 1. 34, 41. — Plur., Gen. 40. 1, Ex. 5. 1; 7. 20, Nu. 20. 10; 31. 13. Or it may be mas. sing. (§ 23*b*), Joel 1. 13.

(*c*) When the subj. is a pron. and noun, the pron. must be expressed whether verb be sing. or plur., § 1*c*. Plur. verb, Gen. 24. 54. Even when two nouns are subj. a pron. referring to the first must be expressed if any words separate it from the second, Gen. 13. 1; 35. 6; 38. 12; 50. 14, 22, Jud. 9. 48, Neh. 2. 12, cf. Jos. 22. 32. When composite subj. is of different persons 1st pers. precedes 2nd and 2nd the 3rd. 1 K. 1. 21 *I and my son.* 1 S. 14. 40; 20. 23, Nu. 20. 8, Gen. 43. 8.

§ 25. Agreement of collectives. With sing. nouns having a coll. meaning the verb is often construed in the plur. according to sense: particularly when the coll. term refers to persons, but sometimes also when it refers to animals or things. Gramm. agreement in sing. is also common, and the two constructions often interchange. When the pred. is first it may be in sing. while following verbs are in plur. Hos. 4. 6 נִדְמוּ עַמִּי my people *are destroyed,* cf. Is. 5. 13 גָּלָה עַמִּי *is gone into exile;* Is. 9. 8 וְיֵדְעוּ הָעָם כֻּלּוֹ the people *shall know,* the whole of *it.* 1 K. 18. 39 וַיַּרְא כָּל־הָעָם וַיִּפְּלוּ when all the people *saw* it, *they fell* on their faces. Ex. 1. 20; 4. 31, Jud. 2. 10. Gen. 41. 57 וְכָל־הָאָרֶץ בָּאוּ all the world *came;* 1 S. 14. 25; 17. 46, 2 S. 15. 23. Nu. 14. 35 הָעֵדָה הַזֹּאת הַנּוֹעָדִים this congregation *that are met together.* With creatures: Gen. 30. 38 תָּבֹאנָה הַצֹּאן the flock *used to come,* Ps. 144. 13. So fem. pl. with בָּקָר Job 1. 14; mas. pl. 1 Chr. 27. 29, cf. 1 K. 8. 5. With things: Jer. 48. 36 יִתְרַת עָשָׂה אָבָדוּ the gain he has made *is lost.* Is. 15. 4, Hos. 9. 6, Hag. 2. 7, Ps. 119. 103. Comp. 1 S. 2. 33 *increase* in a personal ref. — Ex. 15. 4, Jud. 9. 36, 37 *people* sing. and plur., so 1 S. 13. 6, cf. *vss.* 15, 16. Jud. 1. 22; 9. 55, 2 K. 25. 5, Am. 1. 5, Hos. 10. 5; 11. 7, Is. 16. 4; 19. 13. Gen. 34. 24. Nu. 20. 11; 21. 7, Job 8. 19.

§ 26. On the other hand, plur. of inanimate objects that may be grouped under one conception, of animals, and abstract plur. are

frequently construed with fem. sing. of verb. Either subj. or pred. may come first. 1 S. 4. 15 וְעֵינָיו קָמָה *and his eyes* (dual) *were set*, Mic. 4. 11. Joel 1. 20 בַּהֲמוֹת שָׂדֶה תַּעֲרֹג אֵלֶיךָ *the beasts* of the field *pant* towards you. Ps. 103. 5 תִּתְחַדֵּשׁ כַּנֶּשֶׁר נְעוּרָיְכִי *your youth is renewed* like the eagle. Gen. 49. 22, Is. 34. 13; 59. 12, Jer. 4. 14; 12. 4, Mic. 1. 9, Ps. 18. 35; 37. 31, Neh. 13. 10, Job 12. 7; 14. 19; 20. 11. Cf. 2 S. 24. 13. There is no need for *Qere* in Deu. 21. 7, Ps. 73. 2, שׁפכה. Occasionally such plur. nouns are followed by a 3 *mas.* sing. verb (cf. § 23*b*), Gen. 47. 24, Ecc. 2. 7. Cf. Is. 16. 8, Hab. 3. 17.

Rem. 1. Attraction of gender. The verb may agree with the second member of a subj. constr. phrase. 1 K. 17. 16 וְצַפַּחַת שֶׁמֶן לֹא חָסַר the cruse of *oil did not fail.* Is. 2. 11, 1 S. 2. 4, Lev. 13. 9, Job 21. 21; 29. 10; 38. 21. In nominal clauses with resumptive pron., the pron. may agree with pred. Jer. 10. 3 חֻקּוֹת הָעַמִּים הֶבֶל הוּא the customs of the nations are *false*, Lev. 25. 33. So the verb *to be* when it is used in similar clauses, Gen. 31. 8, Pr. 14. 35. The pred. usually agrees with noun after כֹּל *all*, Hos. 9. 4, Gen. 5. 5, Ex. 15. 20, but not universally, Hos. 10. 14, Is. 64. 10.

Rem. 2. General plur. are sometimes construed with sing. verb from a tendency to individualise or distribute. Ex. 31. 14 מְחַלְלֶיהָ מוֹת יוּמָת *any who profane it* (sabbath) *shall be put to death.* Lev. 17. 14; 19. 8, Zech. 11. 5, Pr. 14. 9; 27. 16; 28. 1. So sing. ptcp. in nominal clause: Gen. 27. 29 אֹרְרֶיךָ אָרוּר *any that curse you shall be cursed*, Nu. 24. 9, Pr. 3. 18. In particular a sing. suff. frequently refers back to plur. verb. Is. 2. 20 אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ־לוֹ *which they made* each *for himself.* 2. 8; 30. 22, Hos. 4. 8. Cf. Ex. 28. 3, Ps. 141. 10. So sing. suff. referring back to plur. noun, Deu. 4. 37; 7. 3; 21. 10, Jos. 2. 4, Is. 5. 23; 56. 5, Zech. 14. 12.

Rem. 3. The plur. in § 20 are variously construed. Many nouns which occur only in plur. like פָּנִים, שָׁמַיִם, מַיִם take plur. verbs (and adj.), though twice פָּנִים takes 3 fem. sing., 2 S. 10. 9, Job 16. 16 *Ket.* Nouns expressing an extension in time like חַיִּים, זְקוּנִים and most abstract plur. are usually construed as sing. Intensive plur. such as בְּעָלִים, אֲדֹנִים, אֱלֹהִים are usually in concord with sing. verb (and adj.). When אֱלֹהִים means *gods* it takes a plur., and in a few cases even when it is *God*, Gen. 20. 13 (or in an address to foreigner is *the gods* meant?); 35. 7, Ex. 22. 8 (in both of which a polytheistic background may be detected or be being exploited, cf. Gen. 28. 12).

Rem. 4. Names of nations are construed in three ways: (*a*) with mas. sing., the name being thought of as that of a personal ancestor (but cf. § 17*a*), Ex. 17. 11, Is. 19. 16, Am. 1. 11, 1 Chr. 18. 5; 19. 15, 16, 18, 19. (*b*) Or *ad sensum* with plur., 2. S. 10. 17, 1 K. 20. 20, 2 K. 6. 9, 1 Chr. 18. 2, 13. (*c*) Or with fem.

sing., when the ref. is to the country or when the population is treated as a coll., often personified, 2 S. 8. 2, 5, 6; 10. 11; 24. 9, Is. 7. 2, Jer. 13. 19, 1 Chr. 19. 12, Job 1. 15. The constructions *a, b, c* may interchange in the same passage, Jer. 48. 15, Am. 2. 2, 3, Hos. 14. 1, Mal. 2. 11.

Rem. 5. When there are several predicates one may be in agreement and the other left uninflected, Is. 33. 9, Mic. 1. 9, Zech. 5. 11; cf. on adj. § 42, R. 3. But irregularity in gend. and numb. is, in fact, not uncommon, Jer. 31. 9, Zech. 6. 7; Ez. 20. 38, Lam. 5. 10.

A Note on Case

§ 27. The noun in Hebr. fulfils its various gramm. functions by syntactical means as in English, not through a system of cases as in Latin or Greek or some other Semitic languages. Though traditionally Hebr. Grammars have used terms like accusative and genitive to describe functions which, e.g. in Arabic, are identified by acc. and gen. case endings, this is neither necessary nor (because of the danger of inaccuracy) wise. The discovery from Ugaritic that the locative ending ה־ as in הַבַּיְתָה, Gen. 19. 10, does not derive from an old accusative ending but had originally a consonantal sound, is a warning of the kind of error that may arise.

Rem. 1. The oblique plur. and dual case endings survive formally in plur. ־ִים, dual ־ַיִם. Due to the presence of a weak third radical a similar ending survives in אָבִיךָ *your father*, etc. It is strangely an original dual oblique which survives in the plur. constr. ending ־ֵי. An occasional nominative plur. survives in names, e.g. the place name פְּנוּאֵל (alongside פְּנִיאֵל). The so-called *Vav* and *Hireq compaginis* (of connection), found intermittently with the first member of a constr. relation in poetry and in a few bound phrases in prose, may be lengthened forms of old sing. nominative *u* and genitive *i*, but this is doubtful; they now serve only a decorative purpose, Gen. 1. 24 חַיְתוֹ־אֶרֶץ beast(s) of the earth; 49. 11 בְּנִי אֲתֹנוֹ *his ass's colt.* Is. 22. 16, Ps. 110. 4, Lam. 1. 1.

Rem. 2. Enclitic Mem, though not a case form, is a similar rare survival in poetry. It is found (vocalisation unknown and with no obvious function) frequently in the Ugar. poetic tablets added to nouns (even in constr.), prep. and verbs. Its presence in Hebr. was not recognised by the Massoretes who accommodated it in various awkward ways into the text, e.g. in Ps. 29. 6 as a mas. plur. suff. (וַיַּרְקִידֵם) which destroys the parallelism (cf. AV, RSV) and in Ps. 18. 16 by transferring it to the beginning of the next word (cf. the

parallel text 2 S. 22. 16). It is perhaps also to be recognised in the peculiar אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת, Ps. 59. 6; 80. 5, 8, 15, 20 (over against אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת, Am. 5. 14, 15, 16, etc.). On the equally peculiar יהוה צְבָאוֹת see § 35, R. 6. The poetic forms of the prep. בְּמוֹ, כְּמוֹ, לְמוֹ are probably connected, but not the adverbial ־ם found in חִנָּם, יוֹמָם, שִׁלְשׁוֹם; this *Mem* is also known from Ugar., e.g. *shpshm, with the sun.*

Definiteness and Indefiniteness. The Article

§ 28. Pronouns always have a definite reference, to the speaker or hearer, or to some third person or thing. Some nouns, e.g. proper names, are also definite in reference. Other nouns (including adj. and ptcp. used as nouns) are made definite by prefixing the Article, though not always in ways that accord with Engl. usage. Hebr. has no indefinite article. It should also be noted that poetry very often lacks the Art. where prose would use it. A noun without the Art. may therefore in prose be definite in itself or indefinite, whereas in poetry it may additionally be definite from its context.

Rem. 1. The num. אֶחָד *one* is sometimes used to make up the lack of an indef. art. Ex. 16. 33, 1 S. 7. 9, 12, 1 K. 19. 4; 22. 9, 2 K. 7. 8; 8. 6. Or it has the more specific sense of *a certain*, Jud. 9. 53; 13. 2, 1 S. 1. 1, 1 K. 13. 11, 2 K. 4. 1. The words אִישׁ *man*, אִשָּׁה *woman* prefixed to another term also express specific indefiniteness, Jud. 6. 8 אִישׁ נָבִיא *a* prophet; 4. 4, 2 S. 14. 5; 15. 6, 1 K. 3. 16; 7. 14; 17. 9.

§ 29. Nouns which are definite in themselves and do not require Art. are — (*a*) Proper names of persons, countries, cities, rivers etc., as יהוה (presumably) *Yahweh*, מֹשֶׁה *Moses*, מוֹאָב *Moab*, צֹר *Tyre*, פְּרָת *Euphrates*. (*b*) Certain appellatives with unique reference which approximate to proper names, as שְׁאוֹל *Sheol*, תֵּבֵל *the World*, תְּהוֹם *the Deep*. So generally the divine titles עֶלְיוֹן *the Most High*, שַׁדַּי (meaning unknown) and often אֵל (originally the deity *El*) and אֱלֹהִים (§ 20*c*) *God;* and perhaps some of the cases cited in § 31, R. 2, e.g. אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד *the Tent of Meeting*, שַׂר־צָבָא *the Commander-in-chief*.

The Constr. is definite if it precedes a *definite* noun or a pronom. suffix, though it does not itself have the Art.; but there are exceptions (R. 2).

Rem. 1. Some unique appellatives used as place names retain the Art., as הַלְּבָנוֹן Lebanon (*the white* mountain), הַיַּרְדֵּן Jordan (?), הַגִּבְעָה Gibeah (*the* hill), הָעַי Ai (*the* mound). Usage fluctuates, thus both אֱלֹהִים and הָאֱלֹהִים, both שַׂר־צָבָא (2 S. 2. 8) and שַׂר הַצָּבָא (1 S. 17. 55). In poetry some appellative-like nouns always occur without the Art., notably צַלְמָוֶת *Shadow of Death;* but in poetry there is always uncertainty. This word is dubiously derived from the root צלם *to be dark* (otherwise unattested in Hebr.); it is almost always σκιὰ θανάτου in Sept.

Rem. 2. A definite second member normally makes the whole constr. relationship definite. But sometimes, as in the case of suffixed nouns (§ 3, R. 1), such a constr. remains indef. Thus in a classifying nominal clause it may precede the pred., Gen. 24. 34 עֶבֶד אַבְרָהָם אָנֹכִי I am *a slave of Abraham.* Contrast the identifying clause in *vs.* 65 הוּא אֲדֹנִי he is *my master.* In most of the exx. the first noun is (or may be regarded as) a class noun and the second a proper name. 23. 6 *a prince* of God; 29. 12 *a son* of Reb., Deu. 7. 25 *an abomination* to Y., Jud. 6. 22 *an angel* of Y. (def. in *vs.* 20), Mal. 2. 7 *a messenger* of Y. of hosts. But cf. Lev. 4. 21 *a sin-offering* for the assembly. Elsewhere the context indicates that the phrase is indef., 1 S. 4. 12 אִישׁ בִּנְיָמִין *a man* of B., Lev. 14. 34 *a house,* Gen. 9. 20, Deu. 22. 19, Jud. 10. 1. So also sometimes when the second noun has the generic Art. (§ 31). Gen. 41. 42 רְבִד הַזָּהָב *a chain of gold.* Cf. 1 S. 25. 36 *a* king's *banquet.* Jud. 8. 18. In poetry the generic Art. may, like the Art. in general (§ 31, R. 3), be omitted, Song 1. 11 זָהָב but הַכֶּסֶף.

Rem. 3. In compound prop. names the Art., if used, maintains its usual place. 1 S. 5. 1 אֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר *Ebenezer.* And so with gentilics, Jud. 6. 11, 24 אֲבִי הָעֶזְרִי *the* Abiezrite, 1 S. 17. 58 בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי *the* Bethlehemite. 6. 14.

Rem. 4. A number of cases occur of Art. with constr. or with suffixed noun. In some cases the text may be faulty. Thus in Gen. 24. 67 *Sarah his mother* may be a gloss taken in from the margin, and in Gen. 31. 13 the phrase *that appeared to you* may have dropped out (Sept.). But other cases are paralleled and should not be questioned. In Lev. 27. 23 הָעֶרְכְּךָ is a technical phrase, cf. Jos. 8. 33. הַבַּת יְרוּשָׁלַם in Lam. 2. 13, cf. 1 S. 26. 22 (*Ket.*), 2 K. 7. 13 (*Ket.*), Jer. 48. 32. בְּתוֹךְ הַדְּבָרוֹ in Mic. 2. 12, cf. Jos. 7. 21, 2 K. 15. 16.

§ 30. Determination by Art. — With individual persons or things the Art. is used when they are *known,* and definite to the mind for any reason, e.g.

(*a*) From having been already mentioned. Gen. 18. 7 וַיִּקַּח בֶּן־בָּקָר he took *a calf; vs.* 8 he took בֶּן־הַבָּקָר אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה *the calf* which he had got ready. Or otherwise well known to the audience, Am. 1. 1 לִפְנֵי הָרַעַשׁ before *the earthquake.*

(*b*) Or from being the only one of their kind, as הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הַיָּרֵחַ *the moon; the* earth, *the* high priest, *the* king etc.

(*c*) Or, though not the only one of the class, when usage has given prominence to a particular individual of the class, as הַנָּהָר *the river* (Euphrates). הַבַּעַל *the lord* (Baal), הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary* (Satan), Job 1. 6, Zech. 3. 1, הַיְאֹר *the stream* (Nile, cf. Am. 8. 8 *the stream* of Egypt), הַכִּכָּר *the circle* (of Jordan), הַבַּיִת *the house* (Temple), Mic. 3. 12, Ps. 30. 1, הָאֱלֹהִים *the* (only) God.

(*d*) Or when the person or thing is an *understood* element or feature in the situation or circumstances. Gen. 24. 20 she emptied her pail אֶל־הַשֹּׁקֶת into *the trough*. 35. 17 וַתֹּאמֶר הַמְיַלֶּדֶת and *the midwife* said, 38. 28. So 18. 7 *the boy;* 22. 6 *the fire* and *the knife;* 26. 8 *the window*, Ex. 2. 15 *the well*, Jud. 3. 25 *the key*, 1 S. 19. 13, 2 S. 18. 24, Pr. 7. 19. Engl. also uses the def. Art. in such cases; at other times it employs an unemphatic pronom. suffix, but not Hebr., Gen. 24. 64 she lighted מֵעַל הַגָּמָל from *her camel; vs.* 65 she took הַצָּעִיף *her veil;* 47. 31 *his bed.* Jud. 3. 20, 2 S. 19. 27, 1 K. 13. 13, 27, 2 K. 5. 21.

(*e*) It is a peculiar extension of this usage when, in narratives particularly, persons or things are treated as definite, the person simply from the part he is playing, and the thing from the use being made of it. In this case Engl. uses the indef. Art. 2 S. 17. 17 וְהָלְכָה הַשִּׁפְחָה וְהִגִּידָה *a maid* used to go and tell them. 1 S. 9. 9 כֹּה אָמַר הָאִישׁ *a man* used to say this. Jos. 2. 15 וַתּוֹרִדֵם בַּחֶבֶל she let them down with *a rope*. Ex. 17. 14 write this בַּסֵּפֶר in *a book;* 1 S. 10. 25, Jer. 32. 10, Job 19. 23. — Deu. 15. 17, Ex. 21. 20 with *a rod*, Nu. 22. 27, Jos. 8. 29 on *a tree*, Jud. 4. 18 *a rug*, *vs.* 21 *a tent peg*, *vs.* 19 *a milk bottle*, 6. 38 *a cupful*, 9. 48; 16. 21; 3. 31. So probably Is. 7. 14 *a young woman*. Gen. 9. 23 *a garment* (less naturally *his*, i.e. Noah's). Deu. 22. 17, Jud. 8. 25, 1 S. 21. 10 (some passages may belong to *d*). So with rel. clause, Ps. 1. 1, Jer. 49. 36. With creatures, Gen. 8. 7 הָעֹרֵב *a raven*, *vs.* 8 *a dove* (unless these are generic usage, § 31*c*).

Rem. 1. The so-called vocative often has the Art. 1 K. 18. 26 הַבַּעַל עֲנֵנוּ *O Baal*, hear us! 2 K. 9. 5 אֵלֶיךָ הַשָּׂר unto you, *Captain?* Jud. 6. 12 יְ׳ עִמְּךָ גִּבּוֹר הֶחָיִל Y. is with you, *O man of valour*. Jud. 3. 19, 1 S. 17. 58, 2 S. 14. 4, Hos. 5. 1, Jer. 2. 31, Is. 42. 18, Joel 1. 2, Zech. 3. 8. The noun with Art. may be regarded as in appos. to *you* understood. Cf. Job 19. 21, Mal. 3. 9,

Mic. 1. 2. — 2 K. 9. 31, Is. 22. 16; 47. 8; 54. 1, 11, Zeph. 2. 12.

Rem. 2. In such cases as הַיּוֹם *to-day*, הַלַּיְלָה *to-night*, הַפַּעַם *this time*, Gen. 2. 23, הַשָּׁנָה *this year*, Jer. 28. 16, Art. has a noticeably demons. function. Jud. 13. 10 בָּא בַּיּוֹם came *the other day, that day* is defined by the circumstance that occurred on it.

Rem. 3. To *e* belongs the phrase וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם, 1 S. 1. 4; 14. 1, 2 K. 4. 8, 11, 18, Job 1. 6, 13; 2. 1. Less natural is *the day was.* Gen. 28. 11 *a place;* hardly *the sanctuary.*

§ 31. In addition to these unique or particular usages the Art. also denotes *classes* of persons, creatures or things. This generic use is very common, particularly in *sing.*, either to describe the whole class or an individual person etc. as representative of it.

(*a*) The sing. of gentilic nouns is so used, as Gen. 13. 7 הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite*, 15. 21. The plur. also with Art., rarely without, though פְּלִשְׁתִּים *Philistines*, is more common; cf. 2 S. 21. 12.

(*b*) So adjectives, as הַצַּדִּיק *the righteous*, הָרָשָׁע *the wicked.* The Art. is frequently omitted in poetry; see the Wisdom writings, *passim.* Here also plur. is not uncommon, Ps. 1. 4-6.

(*c*) The various classes of creatures, as Gen. 18. 7 *the* cattle, herd. Esp. in comparisons. Jud. 14. 6 כְּשַׁסַּע הַגְּדִי as one rends *a kid.* 2 S. 17. 10 כְּלֵב הָאַרְיֵה like the heart of *a lion.* Ps. 33. 17 שֶׁקֶר הַסּוּס *a horse* is vain for deliverance. So Ecc. 7. 26 הָאִשָּׁה *a woman* (i.e. women). 1 S. 26. 20 *a partridge*, Jud. 7. 5 as *a dog* laps, 1 S. 17. 34, Am. 3. 12; 5. 19. 2 K. 8. 13 מָה עַבְדְּךָ הַכֶּלֶב what is your servant, *a dog* (your dog of a s.)?

(*d*) So other well known objects, such as precious metals and stones and, in general, any common article, though usage fluctuates here; Gen. 2. 11 אֲשֶׁר־שָׁם הַזָּהָב where there is *gold.* Am. 2. 6, Gen. 13. 2, 2 Chr. 2. 13, 14. Gen. 11. 3 *bricks, bitumen, mortar.* 1 K. 10. 27, Is. 28. 7.

(*e*) And, in general, in comparisons. Is. 1. 18 אִם־יִהְיוּ חֲטָאֵיכֶם כַּשָּׁנִים כַּשֶּׁלֶג יַלְבִּינוּ though your sins be *like crimson*, they shall be white *as snow.* 10. 14 וַתִּמְצָא כַקֵּן יָדִי and my hand has found *like a nest* the wealth of the nations. Nu. 11. 12, Jud. 16. 9, 1 K. 14. 15, 2 S. 17. 3, Hos. 6. 4, Deu. 1. 44, Is. 34. 3; 51. 8; 53. 6, 7, Mic. 4. 12. In poetry the Art. may be missing, Is. 13. 14; 29. 5; 41. 2, Hos. 2. 5.

Rem. 1. Any object or thing well known may receive the generic Art., e.g. affections or diseases, Gen. 19. 11 *blindness*, Zech. 12. 4 *madness*, Lev.

13. 12 *leprosy*. So plagues, calamities, as *blasting, mildew* etc., Am. 4. 9, Hag. 2. 17, Deu. 28. 21, 22, Ex. 5. 3, 2 K. 6. 18. So moral qualities as *faithfulness*, Is. 11. 5, etc. Also physical elements as *fire* in the frequent *burn* בָּאֵשׁ, Deu. 7. 5 etc.; *darkness*, Is. 9. 1. In all these cases, however, usage fluctuates, the Art. being most frequent with prefixed prep. (and therefore in poetry possibly due to the Massoretes).

Rem. 2. Poetry very often lacks Art. where prose would use it, Ps. 2. 2, 8 מַלְכֵי־אֶרֶץ *the* kings of the earth; 72. 17 לִפְנֵי־שֶׁמֶשׁ before *the* sun, etc., etc. The incidence is increased (see R. 1) if many nouns with בְּ, כְּ, לְ pointed as def. are regarded as Massoretic interference. In general the Art. is less used in earlier than in later poetry.

There are indications that a similar situation had once obtained in prose. The Art. is sometimes missing from archaising phrases chiefly known from poetry, as *earth and heaven*, Gen. 2. 4, Ps. 148. 13, Gen. 14. 19; *beast*(s) *of the earth*, Gen. 1. 24, cf. Ps. 50. 10; 104. 11, 20, Is. 56. 9. Also from some familiar expressions, Ex. 27. 21 אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד *tent of meeting* (as we say "to church", cf. John 6. 59 ἐν συναγωγῇ); 1 K. 16. 16 שַׂר צָבָא *commander in chief*. But see § 29*b*. So from *king*, 1 K. 21. 10, 13 curse God *and king*, cf. 1 K. 16. 18, Am. 7. 13. Gen. 24. 11 לְעֵת עֶרֶב *at evening time*, Deu. 11. 12 *to year's end*, 4. 47. And from semi-technical terms like *gate, court* (§ 42, R. 2). More generally, as in poetry, from some familiar nouns, as *head* (Is. 37. 22), *hand* (Neh. 13. 21, Mic. 7. 16), *face* (Gen. 32. 31), *mouth* (Nu. 12. 8), etc. The nouns *heart, soul, eyes* etc., when following a constr. adj., usually want the Art. in poetry, as Ps. 7. 11 (upright *of heart*), sometimes in prose, as Jud. 18. 25 (bitter *in soul*). Particularly when, as essentially coll., they follow כֹּל, Is. 1. 5 (*the whole head*), 2 K. 23. 3 (*with all heart, soul*). So Gen. 3. 20 (*all living*), 6. 12 (*all flesh*), 7. 14 (*every bird of every sort* (wing)) but *ibid.* with Art. *every wild animal, vs.* 21 וְכָל הָאָדָם *all humans* (contrast כָּל־אָדָם, Ps. 39. 6). In prose plur. nouns after כֹּל usually take Art.

Rem. 3. In later writings particularly, but not exclusively, the Art. is used like a relative pron., as subj. or obj. to a verb and with prep., Jos. 10. 24, Jud. 13. 8, 1 S. 9. 24 (*what is upon it*), Ez. 26. 17, 1 Chr. 26. 28; 29. 8, 17, 2 Chr. 1. 4 (older usage Jud. 5. 27, Ru. 1. 16), 29, 36, Ezr. 8. 25; 10. 14, 17.

A number of cases accented after Art. as QATAL of ע״י verbs may be *fem. ptcp.*, e.g. Gen. 18. 21 their cry הַבָּאָה *which is come;* 46. 27, Is. 51. 10, Ru. 1. 22; 4. 3. Gen. 21. 3 הַנּוֹלַד־לוֹ and the mas. ע״י forms in 1 K. 11. 9, Is. 56. 3 broaden the evidence, however, and prompt caution. So does Jos. 10. 24 with a plur. mas. verb, though the spelling is anomalous.

The Construct State

§ 32. A noun in the construct *state* before anther noun is reduced phonetically wherever possible, making the whole expression as near as may be a single accentual unity. The semantic relation between the two nouns is also very close, covering all the nuances of Engl. *of* and several which are in Engl. expressed by other prep. or by an adj. The term genitive should not be used to denote the second noun (§ 27). Here the noun in the constr. state is called A, and the second noun B.

The constr. (A) may be a noun or an adj., or a ptcp. or infin. used nominally. The second noun (B) may be replaced by a pronom. suff. or, on occasion, a clause. According as B is def. or indef., so is the whole phrase, but this is not simply a matter, esp. in poetry but also in prose (§ 29, § 31, R. 2), of the presence or absence of the Art. On other structural features see § 36.

In meaning the relationship of B to A may, broadly speaking, be subjective (§ 33) or objective (§ 34) or adjectival (§ 35).

§ 33. In the *subjective* usages a personal B "possesses" A or it is the agent (or, if impersonal, the instrument) of the action expressed or implied by A.

(*a*) By "possesses" (in its gramm. sense) is meant that B owns A, or is a relative of A, or has A as a bodily part or a condition or a quality, etc. Is. 1. 22 כַּסְפֵּךְ *your* silver, Jer. 7. 4 הֵיכַל יי׳ the temple *of Y.*, Gen. 40. 1 מַשְׁקֵה מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם the butler *of the king of E.*, cf. 31. 18. Gen. 3.6 אִישָׁהּ *her* husband, cf. 36. 6. Gen. 24. 30 יְדֵי אֲחֹתוֹ the hands *of his sister*, Is. 6. 10 לֵב־הָעָם הַזֶּה the heart *of this people*, cf. Gen. 4. 10, Song 7. 1ff., Gen. 23. 1 חַיֵּי שָׂרָה the life *of S.*; so נֶפֶשׁ *soul* in all its meanings. 1 K. 5. 10 חָכְמַת שְׁלֹמֹה the wisdom *of S.*, Is. 2. 17 גַּבְהוּת אָדָם the highness (haughtiness) *of men*, 38. 9 חָלְיוֹ *his* sickness, Ps. 19. 1 כְּבוֹד־אֵל the glory *of God*, 103. 17 חֶסֶד יי׳ the loving kindness *of Y.*

(*b*) By agency is meant that B is the subj. of the verbal idea contained in A. Many A nouns which are in Engl. thought of as abstract nouns or as qualities possessed by someone are more appropriately classified here than under *a* because of their verbal derivation and their concrete usage. 1 S. 15. 10 וַיְהִי דְבַר יי׳ the word *of Y.* came (was) to

Samuel, cf. Jer. 1. 1, Am. 1. 1. Ex. 14. 13 רְאוּ אֶת־יְשׁוּעַת יְ׳ see the salvation *of Y.* Pr. 11. 6 צְדָקַת יְשָׁרִים the righteous behaviour *of the upright* delivers them, cf. Gen. 30. 33 (*my* honest dealing), Jud. 5. 11 (plur. triumphs). Ps. 72. 1 give the king מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ *your* (skill in making) judgements. Is. 55. 8 לֹא מַחְשְׁבוֹתַי *my* thoughts are not *your* thoughts. 2 S. 16. 23 עֲצַת אֲחִיתֹפֶל the counsel *of A.* which he counselled. 1 K. 10. 9 בְּאַהֲבַת יְ׳ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל because of *Y.'s* love for Israel. Is. 9. 6 קִנְאַת־יְ׳ the zeal *of Y.* will do this. Often in constr. chains the agency is carried by a suff.: Ps. 25. 7 חַטֹּאת נְעוּרַי *the sins of my* youth, 8. 3. Ps. 60. 10 סִיר רַחְצִי *my wash* basin, 107. 30 (*my desired* haven), Is. 10. 6 (*who incur my* wrath).

Commonly A is passive ptcp., Is. 53. 4 מֻכֵּה אֱלֹהִים smitten *of* (by) *God*, Job 14. 1. So (or similar) when B is *instrument*, Is. 22. 2 לֹא חַלְלֵי חָרֶב וְלֹא מֵתֵי מִלְחָמָה not slain *by the sword* nor dead *through war*, Gen. 41. 6, Is. 1. 7.

§ 34. When, on the other hand, B is used *objectively* it is the recipient of or otherwise affected by the action expressed or implied by A. Frequently A is active ptcp., Gen. 3. 5 יֹדְעֵי טוֹב וָרָע knowing *good and evil*, Is. 5. 18 מֹשְׁכֵי הָעָוֹן dragging *on iniquity*, cf. *vs.* 23, Ps. 19. 8. Is. 40. 8 מְבַשֶּׂרֶת צִיּוֹן is probably not (note fem. verb, *get you up*) O thou that tellest good tidings *to Zion* (AV) but (§ 35*a*) O Zion *that bringest good tidings* (RV). Indirectly of motion to and from, Is. 38. 18 יֹרְדֵי־בוֹר those going down *to the Pit*, Gen. 23. 10 (cf. Jud. 1. 24 מְבוֹא הָעִיר), Gen. 9. 10 יֹצְאֵי הַתֵּבָה those leaving *the ark*, Is. 59. 20 שָׁבֵי פֶשַׁע those turning *from transgression*. Of presence in, Ps. 88. 6 שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר those lying *in the grave*, Gen. 4. 20; 19. 25. Otherwise, Ex. 3. 8 אֶרֶץ זָבַת חָלָב וּדְבָשׁ a land flowing *with milk and honey*.

When A is a noun the ways in which it affects B are very varied. Gen. 16. 7 דֶּרֶךְ שׁוּר *the way to* Sh., 3. 24, Jer. 21. 8, Ps. 139. 24. Gen. 18. 2 זַעֲקַת סְדֹם *the outcry against* S. and G. 42. 19 שֶׁבֶר רַעֲבוֹן בָּתֵּיכֶם *corn* (needful) *for* the famine in your houses. 2 S. 8. 10 אִישׁ מִלְחֲמוֹת תֹּעִי engaged in *wars with T.* Is. 11. 2 רוּחַ חָכְמָה וּבִינָה *a spirit of* (inducing) wisdom and understanding, 19. 14, Hos. 4. 12. Is. 32. 2 סֵתֶר זֶרֶם *a covert from* the rain. 53. 5 מוּסַר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ *the chastisement that* brought healing to us. Jer. 16. 7 כּוֹס תַּנְחוּמִים *the cup of* (bringing) consolation. Jer. 50. 28 נִקְמַת הֵיכָלוֹ *vengeance on behalf of* his temple. Am. 8. 10 כְּאֵבֶל יָחִיד

like *the mourning for* an only son, Gen. 27. 41. Obad. 10 חֲמַס אָחִיךָ *the violence done to* your brother, Gen. 16. 5, Hab. 2. 17. Pr. 1. 7 יִרְאַת יי *the fear of* Y., 2. 19 אָרְחוֹת חַיִּים *the paths to* life (cf. *vs.* 18). When B is suff., § 2*b*.

§ 35. Hebr. has a relatively meagre stock of adj., and B is very frequently used *adjectivally*, i.e. explicative in various ways of A.

(*a*) *Class* definitions belong here. B may identify a member of the class indicated by A. Gen. 6. 14 עֲצֵי גֹפֶר *gopher*-wood, Ex. 25. 7 *onyx* stones, Jer. 24. 2 *first-ripe* grapes. Esp. in naming, Gen. 2. 15 גַּן־עֵדֶן the garden of *Eden*, 15. 8 נְהַר־פְּרָת the river *Euphrates*, Is. 41. 14 תּוֹלַעַת יַעֲקֹב you worm *Jacob*, 40. 9 *O Zion*, herald(ess) of good news (see § 34). Note בַּת יְרוּשָׁלִַם (Is. 37. 22 etc.) daughter (who is) *Jerusalem*. Or, alternatively, A is adjectival and identifies the member of the class indicated by B, Gen. 8. 9 כַּף־רַגְלָהּ *the sole of* its foot, Is. 9. 5 פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ *wonderful* (wonder of a) counsellor, Gen. 16. 12 פֶּרֶא אָדָם *a wild ass* among men, Nu. 23. 19 בֶּן־אָדָם *son of* (who represents) mankind (frequently in Ez., 2. 1 etc.; so Aram. in Dan. 7. 13); so (in effect) בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, Ex. 1. 17 etc., and similar constructs used ethnically, בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים, 1 K. 20. 35 etc., used of a professional group, בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, Gen. 6. 2 etc., divine *beings;* Is. 1. 4 זֶרַע מְרֵעִים *a race of* evildoers. 1 K. 10. 15, Is. 29. 19, Ez. 36. 38, Ps. 1. 1, Pr. 15. 20, 2 Chr. 2. 7.

(*b*) B may indicate the material of which A is made, Gen. 24. 22 נֶזֶם זָהָב a *golden* ring, Ex. 20. 24 מִזְבַּח אֲדָמָה an *earthen* altar. Gen. 3. 21, Jud. 7. 13, 1 K. 6. 36, Is. 2. 20, Ps. 2. 9. Or the commodity of which A is a unit of measure or receptacle, Jud. 6. 19 אֵיפַת־קֶמַח an ephah *of meal*, Gen. 21. 14, 1 S. 16. 20; 17. 17, 1 K. 18. 12, 14. Or in numerical statements simply what is being counted, Gen. 40. 12 שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים three *days*, 8. 9 כָּל־הָאָרֶץ all *the earth*, Ps. 51. 3 כְּרֹב רַחֲמֶיךָ according to *your* many *mercies*, Gen. 18. 4 מְעַט מַיִם a little *water*. A special usage (§ 44, R. 4) expresses the superlative, e.g. Ex. 26. 33 קֹדֶשׁ הַקָּדָשִׁים the holy of (among) *holy places*.

Apposition (§ 39) is a frequent alternative for many of the usages of the constr. relation in *a* and *b*. See also Numerals, §§ 46ff.

(*c*) B may describe an attribute or quality of A, 1 K. 20. 31 מַלְכֵי חֶסֶד *clement* kings, Jud. 11. 1 גִּבּוֹר חַיִל a *valiant* hero, Lev. 19. 36 מֹאזְנֵי צֶדֶק *right* balances, Is. 43. 28 שָׂרֵי קֹדֶשׁ *holy* princes. More generally, Is.

51. 11 שִׂמְחַת עוֹלָם *everlasting* joy, Ex. 3. 8 (cf. § 34) a land *flowing* with milk and honey, Zech. 11. 4 צֹאן הַהֲרֵגָה the flock (destined) *for slaughter*, Is. 13. 3 עַלִיזֵי גַאֲוָתִי (Zeph. 3. 11). Is. 13. 8; 22. 2; 28. 4; 32. 2, Ex. 29. 29, Ps. 5. 7; 23. 2, Pr. 1. 9; 5. 19, Zeph. 3. 4. Jer. 20. 17 *with child always.* — The equivalence of this constr. relation to the adj. appears from the loose constructions, Deu. 25. 15 אֶבֶן שְׁלֵמָה וָצֶדֶק a *full* and *right* weight; 1 S. 30. 22 כָּל־אִישׁ רָע וּבְלִיַּעַל every *bad* and *worthless* man.

(*d*) The opposite relationship is found when A is adj. or ptcp. and B specifies the extent or point of its application. Is. 6. 5 אִישׁ טְמֵא־שְׂפָתַיִם a man *unclean of lips*, Ex. 32. 9 עַם־קְשֵׁה־עֹרֶף הוּא they are *a stiffnecked people*, Gen. 24. 16 וְהַנַּעַר טוֹבַת מַרְאֶה מְאֹד and the girl was very *pretty*, 2 S. 9. 13 פִּסֵּחַ שְׁתֵּי רַגְלָיו *lame in* his *two feet*, 1 S. 25. 3 הָאִשָּׁה טוֹבַת שֵׂכֶל וִיפַת תֹּאַר וְהָאִישׁ רַע מַעֲלָלִים the woman was *of great discretion* and *beautiful in form*, but the man was *evil in* (his) *doings*. Gen. 12. 11; 26. 7; 29. 17; 39. 6; 41. 2-6, Ex. 4. 10; 6. 12, Deu. 9. 6, 13, Jud. 3. 15; 18. 25, 1 S. 2. 5; 22. 2, 2 S. 4. 4, Is. 1. 4, 30; 3. 3; 19. 10; 29. 24; 54. 6, Am. 2. 16, Ps. 24. 4, Job 3. 20; 9. 4, Lam. 1. 1, Song 5. 8.

Rem. 1. Some kind of subjective relationships do not fit the definitions given in § 33; e.g. after יוֹם the verbal ideal is expressed by B, Is. 34. 8 יוֹם נָקָם a day *of* (Y.'s) *vengeance*, 22. 5; 58. 5; 37. 3 יוֹם צָרָה a day *of* (on which I suffer) *distress*, cf. Gen. 35. 3, Jud. 13. 7 יוֹם מוֹתוֹ; Jer. 12. 3 יוֹם הֲרֵגָה a day *of* (their) slaughter. In 2 S. 4. 4 שִׁמְעַת שָׁאוּל *the news about* S. and J., A is verbal but B describes neither possessor or agent but simply the subject matter, Gen. 29. 13, Is. 23. 5. Many other constr. relations may be loosely classified as subjective, e.g. B contains A, Ex. 34. 28 דִּבְרֵי הַבְּרִית *the words of the covenant;* is contained in A, 24. 7 סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית *the book of the covenant*, Nu. 10. 33 אֲרוֹן בְּרִית יי *the ark of Y's covenant.*

Rem. 2. When B denotes an attribute, it forms along with A a single conception, and hence takes any suff., Ps. 2. 6 הַר קָדְשִׁי *my holy hill*, Deu. 1. 41, Is. 2. 20; 9. 3; 30. 22; 31. 7; 64. 9, 10, Zeph. 3. 11, Job 18. 7. Cf. § 3.

Rem. 3. B of attribute or quality is esp. common with certain nouns, אִישׁ, אִשָּׁה *man, woman,* בֵּן, בַּת *son, daughter,* בַּעַל, [בַּעֲלָה] *owner, possessor.* Ex. 4. 10 אִישׁ דְּבָרִים a *good speaker*, Job 11. 2 א' שִׂפְתַיִם *glib-tongued* (of lips), 2 S. 16. 7 א' דָּמִים *murderer*, Pr. 25. 24 אֵשֶׁת מִדְיָנִים a *scolding woman*, 31. 10 אֵשֶׁת חַיִל a *virtuous wife*. 1 S. 14. 52 בֶּן־חַיִל *mighty man*, 26. 16 בְּנֵי מָוֶת *deserving death*, 1. 16 בַּת בְּלִיַּעַל *shameless woman.* In stating age, 1 S. 4. 15 בֶּן־תִּשְׁעִים וּשְׁמֹנֶה שָׁנָה *ninety-eight years old*, etc. Gen. 37. 19 בַּעַל הַחֲלֹמוֹת this *dreamer*, 2. K. 1. 8 ב' שֵׂעָר *hairy*, Pr. 23. 2 ב' נֶפֶשׁ *of large appetite*, Is. 50. 8

בַּעַל מִשְׁפָּטִי my *accuser*, 1 S. 28. 7 אִשָּׁה בַּעֲלַת־אוֹב a woman who is a *medium* (see also § 36, R. 4).

Rem. 4. Adverbs may play a nominal role and stand in position B, 1 K. 2. 31 דְּמֵי חִנָּם *causeless* bloodshed, Nu. 29. 6 עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד *the continual* burnt-offering, Ex. 39. 14 אַנְשֵׁי תָמִיד men (who) *continually* pass through (עֹבְרִים) the land, Deu. 26. 5 מְתֵי מְעַט *few* men. 2 S. 24. 24, Hab. 2. 19, Ez. 30. 16.

Rem. 5. The construction in § 35*d* is the usual one in Hebr. of the type *integer vitae;* a noun used "adverbially" (adnominally would be more accurate) after adj. and ptcp. is uncommon, e.g. Is. 40. 20 (poor *in oblation*), Job 15. 10 (older *in days*). Contrast 30. 1 (younger לְיָמִים *in days*). The prep. בְּ is generally used of members of the body when constr. is not employed, Am. 2. 15, Pr. 17. 20.

Rem. 6. Place names may be put in constr., as Ur of the Chaldees, Gen. 11. 31, Aram of the two rivers, 24. 10, Mizpeh of Gilead, Jud. 11. 29. So divine names before a place, Nu. 25. 3 בַּעַל פְּעוֹר *Baal of Peor*, cf. in an inscr. from Kuntillet Ajrud יהוה שמרן *Y. of Samaria.* Unique are גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל *Gibeah of Saul* (1 S. 11. 4), *Zion of the Holy One* of Israel (Is. 60. 14) and the frequent title יהוה צְבָאוֹת *Y. of hosts* (cf. 1 S. 17. 45 where it is in appos. to אֱלֹהֵי מַעַרְכוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל *the God of the armies of Israel*). Attempts to explain the latter phrase as appositional, *Y.* (who is, belongs among) *the hosts* (sc. of heaven) or as deriving from an old liturgical formula *He who creates the hosts* (of heaven) (Hiph. from הוה = היה) are not convincing; nor, as the *lectio difficilior*, should it be regarded as breviloquence for the gramm. regular י׳ אֱלֹהֵי צ׳ Y., *the God of hosts*, 2 S. 5. 10 etc. Finally, it should be noted that no proper names, place, divine or personal, take a suff. in Hebr.; this suggests that in the above inscr. from Kuntillet Ajrud אשרתה cannot mean *his* (Y.'s) *Ashera*, i.e. his consort, but *his* (or better, *its*, i.e. Samaria's) *sacred place, pole*, cf. Is. 10. 11, Am. 8. 14.

§ 36. Some other matters of structure. — (*a*) B may occasionally be replaced by a relative clause, § 13. Or by a prep. phrase when the prep. normally goes with an active ptcp. in A, Is. 9. 1 יֹשְׁבֵי בְאֶרֶץ צַלְמָוֶת those *dwelling in*, Ps. 2. 12 כָּל־חוֹסֵי בוֹ all *taking refuge in* him. Jud. 5. 10, Is. 5. 11; 14. 19; 30. 18; 64. 3, Jer. 8. 16, Ez. 38. 11, Ps. 84. 7, Job 24. 5. Otherwise: Is. 28. 9 גְּמוּלֵי מֵחָלָב *weaned from* milk, 56. 10 אֹהֲבֵי לָנוּם *loving to* slumber. Peculiarly Jer. 33. 22 מְשָׁרְתֵי אֹתִי *ministering to me.* More loosely, Is. 9. 2 שִׂמְחַת בַּקָּצִיר *joy* (as) *in harvest*, Ez. 13. 2.

(*b*) The constr. relation may also be split by the ה of direction (e.g. Gen. 44. 14 בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף), by Enclitic Mem (§ 27, R. 2) and, in some phrases, by *Vav* and *Hireq compaginis.* But normally nothing is permitted

to come between A and B. An adj. qualifying either must therefore stand outside the expression, Joel 3. 4 יוֹם יְ׳ הַגָּדוֹל the *great* day of Y., Gen. 27. 15 בִּגְדֵי עֵשָׂו בְּנָהּ הַגָּדֹל הַחֲמֻדוֹת the *best* garments of her *elder* son Esau. Is. 36. 9.

(*c*) For the same reason two coordinated constr. may not govern B. Commonly a suff. is used with the second (and any further) noun. Thus Gen. 41. 8 he called all the magicians of Eg. וְאֶת־כָּל־חַכְמֶיהָ *and all its wise men* (= all the mag. and w. m. of Eg.). Or the suff. on B may be omitted, Gen. 40. 1 the butler of the king of Eg. וְהָאֹפֶה *and the baker*, Ps. 64. 7. Or *periphrasis* by prep. לְ may be used, Gen. 40. 5 הַמַּשְׁקֶה וְהָאֹפֶה אֲשֶׁר לְמֶלֶךְ מ׳. Periphrasis is had recourse to when the first member of the relationship is to be preserved indef., the second being def., 1 S. 16. 18 בֶּן לִישַׁי *a* son of Jesse, cf. 20. 27 בֶּן־יִשַׁי *the* son of J. (David). And in some other instances, R. 3. But periphrasis is not obligatory if the context is unambiguous, allowing a def. constr. phrase to be treated as indef. (§ 29, R. 2); and it may, of course, be used simply for variety, Gen. 40. 5 above, 1 S. 14. 16, Jer. 12. 12.

Rem. 1. Sometimes an adj. is used nominally and brought within the chain of constructs. Is. 28. 16 a corner-stone יְקַרַת *of preciousness* of a foundation; perhaps *vss.* 1, 4 flower נֹבֶל of *a faded-thing* (faded flower) of its proud glory, Jer. 4. 11 *wind of dryness*. In some cases a non-constr. appears in such a chain, Is. 28. 1 גֵּיא־שְׁמָנִים הֲלוּמֵי יָיִן *the fat valley* of those overcome by wine, Ps. 68. 22, Pr. 21. 6. This is difficult to explain as either appos. or an "adverbial" usage (with respect to).

Rem. 2. Rare instances of two constr. before B are Ez. 31. 16, Dan. 1. 4, perhaps stereotyped phrases. Occasionally the first word seems to stand loosely in abs., Is. 55. 4. On the other hand, when one constr. governs two following nouns, it may be repeated before each, Gen. 24. 3 *God* of heaven *and God* of earth, 11. 29; 14. 13, Jos. 24. 2. But often not, Gen. 14. 22; 28. 5, Ex. 3. 6, 16 (contrast 4. 5), 1 K. 18. 36. There is nothing unusual in several nouns after one constr., Deu. 8. 8; 32. 19, Jud. 1. 7, 9, Is. 1. 11, 28; 37. 3; 64. 10, Ps. 5. 7, Pr. 3. 4.

Rem. 3. The periphrastic construction is used: (1) When it is wished to preserve the indefiniteness of A, 1 S. 16. 18 (above); 17. 8, 1 K. 2. 39, Gen. 41. 12, Nu. 25. 14, Song 8. 1. Similarly the so-called לְ of authorship, Hab. 3. 1 and traditionally the common לְדָוִד (psalm) *of, by David*, unless this means *for* the davidic king, *authorised by* or the like, as in Ps. 42. 1 לַמְנַצֵּחַ *for* the choirmaster, לִבְנֵי־קֹרַח *belonging to* (the collection of) the sons of K.

(2) When it is desired to retain for A the somewhat greater distinctiveness given by the Art., Gen. 25. 6; 29. 9; 47. 4, Jud. 6. 25, 1 S. 21. 8, 1 K. 4. 2, 2 K. 5. 9, Ps. 116. 15; 118. 20. (3) When it is necessary to retain a def. designation or expression in its completeness. 1 K. 15. 23 סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יה׳ the book of *The Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*, 2 K. 11. 4 *the centurions of*, Ru. 2. 3 *the field-portion of* Boaz (but cf. 2 K. 9. 25), Nu. 27. 16; 30. 2, Gen. 41. 43, Jos. 19. 51, 2 S. 2. 8, 2 Chr. 8. 10. (4) For the same reason periphrasis is usual in dates and with numerals. Gen. 7. 11 in the 600th year לְחַיֵּי נֹחַ *of the life* of N., 1. K. 3. 18 בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי *on the third day after I gave birth*, Gen. 16. 3, 1 K. 14. 25, etc. Cf. on dates, § 48*c*. (5) The suff. may be circumscribed, perhaps with some emphasis. 1 K. 1. 33 הַפִּרְדָּה אֲשֶׁר־לִי *my* mule; cf. *vs.* 38, Ru. 2. 21, Lam. 1. 10, cf. 3. 44. So the curious אִשְׁתִּי לִי *my* wife (a. w. of mine) 2 Chr. 8. 11. After already suffixed noun, Song 1. 6 כַּרְמִי שֶׁלִּי *my own* vineyard, Ps. 27. 2.

Rem. 4. A noun in appos. with a constr. phrase may be attracted into the constr., 1 S. 28. 7 אִשָּׁה בַּעֲלַת אוֹב *a woman* possessing an Ob., Deu. 21. 11, Is. 23. 12; 37. 22, Jer. 14. 17. And sometimes a noun in constr. is suspended by being repeated, or by the interposition of a synonym in appos., Gen. 14. 10 *pits*, pits of bitumen, Nu. 3. 47, Jud. 5. 22, 2 S. 20. 19 *the peaceable* (and) *the faithful* in Israel, 2 K. 10. 6, Jer. 46. 9, Ps. 78. 9, Job 20. 17, Dan. 11. 14.

Nominal Coordination

§ 37. Coordination between nouns (or their equivalents) is, as between verbs, nearly always achieved through *Vav*. Hebr. possesses very few other coordinators (§ 38), and sometimes even their functions are usurped by *Vav* - or, to put it more accurately, their functions may be sufficiently fulfilled by the context and it left to *Vav* to provide a non-commital coordinator. When *Vav* joins a number of nouns or phrases, it is usually repeated before each, Gen. 20. 14 צֹאן וּבָקָר וַעֲבָדִים וּשְׁפָחוֹת sheep *and* cattle *and* male *and* female slaves; 24. 35, Deu. 12. 18; 14. 5, Hos. 2. 21 (prep. phrases), 24, Jer. 42. 1. But sometimes it is used only before the last, as in Engl., Gen. 5. 32; or the last two or more, Deu. 18. 10, 11; or only before the second, Ps. 45. 9; or the words are disposed in pairs, Hos. 2. 7. These occurrences are hardly enough to establish patterns.

The form וָ is often used when the first syllable of the following word is stressed, Gen. 19. 19 וָאָמוּת *and* I die; but particularly when such a word is the second of a related pair, Ex. 2. 12 כֹּה וָכֹה this way *and* that; 10. 8

מִי וָמִי *who* (among them)?, Deu. 25. 13 אֶבֶן וָאָבֶן *two different weights;* 32. 7 דּוֹר וָדוֹר many generations (Ps. 10. 6; 100. 5), Gen. 1. 2 (waste *and* void); 2. 19 (good *and* evil); 14. 19 (heaven *and* earth); 31. 44 (I *and* you), 1 K. 21. 13 (God *and* king).

In some cases *Vav* has *explanatory* rather than coordinating force, with a certain emphasis on the word it explains, Ps. 74. 11 your hand *and* (*even*) *your right hand;* 85. 9 to his people *and to his saints*, Zech. 9. 9 *and* (*namely*) *on a colt.* Often with the specifying sense *and that*, Am. 3. 11 a foe *and that* round about; 4. 10 *and that* into your nostrils. Is. 57. 11, Jer. 15. 13, 1 Chr. 9. 27. Cf. 2 S. 13. 20 וְשֹׁמֵמָה (*and that*) desolate, Ps. 68. 10 וְנִלְאָה (*and it*) languishing, Lam. 3. 26 וְדוֹמָם *and that* (in) silence.

For the various ways in which *Vav* coordinates verbs (clauses) see § 84ff. and references there.

§ 38. For specific purposes other conjunctions are used, notably to express inclusion, exclusion and disjunction.

(*a*) The chief *inclusive* conjunction is גַּם. It may be used with the second of two or the last in a series of nouns (or equivalent), Gen. 6. 4 in these days וְגַם אַחֲרֵי־כֵן and *also* afterwards; 7. 3 take with you ... גַּם מֵעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה *also* of the birds of the air seven pairs. Or more often attached to each, Gen. 24. 25 גַּם־תֶּבֶן גַּם־מִסְפּוֹא *both* straw *and* provender; 43. 8. Jud. 8. 2, 1 S. 2. 26 גַּם עִם־יְ׳ וְגַם עִם־אֲנָשִׁים *both* with Y. *and* with men. Other exx. of גַּם ... גַּם: Gen. 44. 16; 47. 3, 19, Nu. 18. 3, Zeph. 2. 14. The use of two coordinators, וְגַם or וְגַם ... גַּם, is less usual and strictly speaking redundant, unless two clauses are being linked (see below). The combination וְ ... וְ is used in the same sense but, though translated *both* ... *and* in Engl., it is simply conjunctive in Hebr., Ps. 76. 7 וְרֶכֶב וָסוּס *both* chariot and *horse.* Nu. 9. 14, Jer. 32. 20, Job 34. 29. When influenced by a *negative*, this *both* ... *and* becomes *neither* ... *nor*, but again any disjunctive sense is carried in the phrase as a whole, not by גַּם. 1 S. 21. 9 גַּם־חַרְבִּי וְגַם כֵּלַי *neither* my sword *nor* my weapons; 20. 27, 1 K. 3. 26.

Sometimes the parts of an inclusive phrase are distributed over two clauses. Gen. 4. 4 Cain brought ... וְהֶבֶל הֵבִיא גַּם־הוּא and Abel *also* brought; Gen. 32. 20 he commanded the first ... and he commanded גַּם אֶת־הַשֵּׁנִי *also* the second. In these two exx. גַּם coordinates the subj. or

obj. and *Vav* separately coordinates the clauses. Ps. 84. 4. But in other cases the inclusive meaning extends to the verb, Gen. 24. 44 גַּם־אַתָּה you *yourself* drink וְגַם לִגְמַלֶּיךָ and I will *also* draw for your camels; 3. 6; 29. 27; 32. 21. This usage is strictly speaking interclausal, as it is when occasionally גַּם precedes a verb, Is. 44. 12. See further on inclusive coordination of clauses § 43.

The conjunction אַף may also precede nouns and phrases or verbs, but it does not link nouns in an inclusive series, nor is אַף ... אַף found in the sense of *both ... and.* It mostly (as either אַף or וְאַף) occurs in the second of two clauses and behaves similarly to גַּם or וְגַם. Gen. 40. 16 אַף־אֲנִי בַּחֲלוֹמִי I *also* (had a dream and) in my dream. Deu. 15. 17, Jud. 5. 29. אַף is commoner before verbs than גַּם.

Neither גַּם nor אַף may be used with suff. but only with the full pron. (§ 1*d*). Gen. 26. 21 וַיָּרִיבוּ גַּם־עָלֶיהָ and they *also* quarrelled over it; 27. 34. Deu. 2. 20 אַף־הוּא it *also* is considered. Sometimes גַּם may be translated *I for my part, in my turn* rather than *also*, though it is the context not the conjunction that supplies the idea of correspondence with a previous statement, Hos. 4. 6 because you have forgotten ... *I for my part* (גַּם־אֲנִי) will forget. Ez. 5. 8, 11, Pr. 1. 26. So גַּם and אַף when they seem to add emphasis (*even, indeed*) to the second of two statements. Before noun etc., Hos. 7. 9 (גַּם), Lev. 26. 39 (אַף). Or more commonly verb, Is. 47. 3 (גַּם); 41. 10 (אַף). In a number of cases where there is no obvious connection with anything said previously גַּם and אַף are properly regarded not as conjunctions but as adverbs or (before a noun) adnominal qualifiers. Gen. 27. 33, 2 S. 17. 10, Is. 44. 12, Ps. 16. 6, Job 14. 3.

(*b*) The chief *exclusive* coordinating conjunctions are רַק and אַךְ. These exclude at phrase (nominal) level, Gen. 47. 22 the land became Pharaoh's ... רַק אַדְמַת הַכֹּהֲנִים *only* the land of the priests he did not buy; 14. 24. Gen. 20. 12 she is the daughter of my father אַךְ לֹא *but* not the d. of my mother. In Gen. 7. 23 the exclusive phrase is spread over two clauses: they were blotted out from the earth וַיִּשָּׁאֶר אַךְ־נֹחַ and *only* N. was left. Or they exclude at clause level, Gen. 19. 8 (רַק), Ex. 12. 16 (אַךְ). There is sometimes ambiguity; in Deu. 12. 16 רַק הַדָּם לֹא תֹאכֵלוּ may mean *only* the blood you shall not eat, or *only* you must not eat the blood. See further on exclusive clauses § 144.

When there is nothing mentioned previously from which exclusion may be made, רַק and אַךְ have a limiting or restrictive effect and are adnominal qualifiers or adverbs rather than conjunctions. Exx. of רַק with noun or similar: Gen. 6. 5 רַק רַע *only, nothing but* evil; 26. 29 רַק־טוֹב; 41. 40 רַק הַכִּסֵּא רַק *only* in respect of the throne will I be greater (or better, *only* I, the throne); 20. 11 (*surely*), 1 K. 8. 9 (with neg., *except*). Exx. of אַךְ: Gen. 18. 32 אַךְ־הַפַּעַם *just* this once; 34. 15 אַךְ־בְּזֹאת *only* on this condition, Ex. 12. 15 (on the *very* first day), Nu. 12. 2 (by Moses *alone*), Deu. 16. 15 (*altogether* joyous), Is. 19. 11 (*utterly* foolish); 36. 5 (*mere* words).

After a *negative* or anything, as a question, implying a neg. the adversative כִּי אִם (cf. Engl. *but*) or the negative בִּלְתִּי are preferred for indicating exclusion, either coordinating clauses or, less frequently, as adnominal qualifiers. As the latter, כִּי אִם Gen. 28. 17 (*nothing other than*), Nu. 26. 35 (*except*), Is. 42. 19 (*but*). בִּלְתִּי: Gen. 21. 26 (*except* today), Ex. 22. 19 (*except* to Y.), 1 S. 2. 2 (*besides* you). The negative בִּלְעֲדֵי is only and the exclusive זוּלָתִי nearly always used with a noun or equivalent: Gen. 41. 44 (*apart from*); Deu. 1. 36 (*with the exception of*). The forms לְבַד מִן, לְבַד and מִלְּבַד are properly prepositions: Gen. 2. 18 (*alone, by himself*); Ex. 12. 37 (*besides*); Gen. 46. 26 (*not including*).

(*c*) *Disjunctive* coordination. *Or* is expressed in Hebr. by אוֹ. Linking nouns or phrases, Gen. 24. 49 עַל־יָמִין אוֹ עַל־שְׂמֹאל to the right *or* to the left; 24. 50 רַע אוֹ טוֹב bad *or* good; 44. 8 כֶּסֶף אוֹ זָהָב silver *or* gold. Gen. 44. 19, Ex. 5. 3; 21. 18, 32, 37, Deu. 13. 2, Jud. 21. 22, 1 S. 2. 14. When repeated, אוֹ ... אוֹ is *whether* ... *or*, Ex. 21. 31 אוֹ־בֵן יִגַּח אוֹ־בַת יִגַּח *whether* it gore a boy *or* a girl, Lev. 5. 2. In the same sense the conditional אִם ... אִם may be used, Ex. 19. 13 אִם בְּהֵמָה אִם אִישׁ לֹא יִחְיֶה *whether* beast *or* man, it shall not live. Deu. 18. 3, 2 S. 15. 21. So וְאִם ... אִם, Jer. 42. 6, Pr. 20. 11. On disjunctive clauses see § 45.

Negative disjunction is expressed by conjunctive *Vav* preceded by a neg., Nu. 23. 19 לֹא אִישׁ אֵל ... וּבֶן־אָדָם God is not a man ... *nor* is he a human being. Gen. 45. 6, Deu. 5. 14, Jud. 6. 4. Or more strongly with inclusive גַּם added, 1 S. 16. 8, 9. Clearly the neg. carries the disjunctive weight. Similarly the inclusive גַּם ... גַּם or the conjunctive וְ ... וְ become disjunctive *neither* ... *nor* when influenced by neg. (above *a*).

Nominal Apposition

§ 39. Apposition relates nouns more closely than coordination. It places together two nouns which agree for definiteness or indefiniteness and are identical or overlapping in reference. The second noun is in apposition to the first and specifies the common or shared relationship. This is usually a relationship of class or material or even quality of the kind alternatively expressed by a constr. phrase (§ 35). For clauses in appos., cf. § 146ff.

Nominal apposition is used more extensively than in Engl., and brings together two nouns as follows —

(*a*) The person or thing and its name. 2 S. 3. 31 הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד (the) *king David;* Nu. 34. 2 הָאָרֶץ כְּנַעַן *the land* (of) *Canaan;* 1 Chr. 5. 9 הַנָּהָר פְּרָת *the river Euphrates,* Gen. 14. 6 בְּהַרְרָם שְׂעִיר in *their mountain Seir.* Gen. 24. 4, 1 S. 3. 1, 1 K. 4. 1; 16. 21, 24, Ezr. 8. 21; 9. 1. The order *David the king* also occurs, 2 K. 8. 29, 1 S. 30. 7, Is. 39. 3 as, with *land, river,* etc. does a constr., Nu. 34. 2 אֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן, Gen. 15. 18 נְהַר־פְּרָת.

If the personal name be second the object marker אֵת, if used with the appellative, has to be repeated. Gen. 4. 2 אֶת־אָחִיו אֶת־הֶבֶל *his brother Abel;* 48. 13, Deu. 26. 15. So commonly a prep., Gen. 24. 4 לְבְנִי לְיִצְחָק *to my son Is.;* 21. 10, though exceptions occur, Gen. 24. 12 עִם אֲדֹנִי אַבְרָהָם, 1 S. 25. 19, espec. in the phrase *my, your people Israel,* Deu. 21. 8, etc. On the other hand, there is no repetition of אֵת or prep. with appell. when second. Gen. 16. 3 אֶת־הָגָר שִׁפְחָתָה *H. her maid;* 11. 31; 12. 5; 24. 59. Gen. 4. 8 rose up אֶל־הֶבֶל אָחִיו *against A. his brother;* 11. 28.

(*b*) The person or thing and its *class.* 1 K. 7. 14 אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה a *widow woman;* 2 K. 9. 4 הַנַּעַר הַנָּבִיא the *young* (man who was the) *prophet* (in question, *vs.* 1); Ex. 24. 5 זְבָחִים שְׁלָמִים *sacrifices* (of) *peace-offerings* (constr. זִבְחֵי שׁ׳, 29. 28). Deu. 22. 23, 1 S. 2. 13, 2 S. 10. 7. Gen. 21. 20 a *shooter,* a *bowman* may be a case of appos. or, like the indef. מַיִם following הַמַּבּוּל in Gen. 6. 17, of a common noun glossing a rarer one.

(*c*) The thing and its *material.* 2 K. 16. 17 הַבָּקָר הַנְּחֹשֶׁת the *brazen oxen;* Deu. 16. 21 אֲשֵׁרָה כָּל־עֵץ an *Ashera* (of) *any wood;* Ex. 39. 17

הָעֲבֹתֹת הַזָּהָב the *cords* (of) *gold;* Ex. 28. 17 four טוּרִים אֶבֶן *rows* (of) *stones* (constr. 39. 10); 2 Chr. 4. 13 two *rows pomegranates*, Ez. 22. 18, 1 Chr. 15. 19, Zech. 4. 10.

(*d*) The measure or weight, often with a number, and the thing measured or weighed. In certain exx. the phrase containing the measure or weight seems to be made def. by Art. or suffix, but is clearly regarded as sufficiently indef. to admit an indef. noun in appos. to it. 2 K. 7. 1, 16, 18 סְאָה סֹלֶת וּסְאָתַיִם שְׂעֹרִים a *seah* (of) *flour* and *two seahs* (of) *barley*, Gen. 18. 6 שְׁלֹשׁ סְאִים קֶמַח סֹלֶת *three seahs* (of) (flour, viz.) *fine flour* (also in appos.), Ru. 2. 17 כְּאֵיפָה שְׂעֹרִים about an *ephah* (of) *barley*. Ex. 29. 40 רְבִעִית הַהִין יָיִן the (a) *fourth of a hin* (of) *wine; ib.* a *tenth* (of an ephah of) *fine flour*, Nu. 15. 4; Ex. 9. 8 מְלֹא חָפְנֵיכֶם פִּיחַ כִּבְשָׁן *handfuls* (lit. fill of the hollow of *your* hands) (of) *ashes from the kiln* (constr.); 16. 33 the (an) *omer* (-full) (of) *manna*, Nu. 22. 18, 1 K. 18. 32, Lev. 6. 13. — Gen. 41. 1 שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים *two years* (of) *time*, 2 S. 13. 23. 2 S. 24. 13 שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים רָעָב *seven years* (of) *famine; ib. three days* (of) *pestilence*. Gen. 45. 11, 1 Chr. 21. 12. Gen. 29. 14 חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים *a whole month*, Nu. 11. 20, Deu. 21. 13, 2 K. 15. 13. 2 K. 3. 4 100,000 *rams, wool* (fleeces), 1 S. 16. 20 an *ass-load* (of) *bread* (alternatively an *ass laden with b.*). — 1 K. 16. 24 בְּכִכָּרַיִם כֶּסֶף for *two talents* (of) *silver*, 2 K. 5. 23, cf. *vs.* 17; 1 S. 17. 5.

With different order, Neh. 2. 12 אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט *a few men*, Is. 10. 7; Nu. 9. 20 יָמִים מִסְפָּר *days, a number* (many), 2 S. 8. 8; 24. 24, 1 K. 5. 9. Ex. 27. 16 *a curtain* (of) *twenty cubits*.

(*e*) Even the person or thing and its quality or character. 1 K. 22. 27 לֶחֶם לַחַץ וּמַיִם לַחַץ *bread and water* (of) *affliction*, cf. Is. 30. 20; Ps. 60. 5 יֵין תַּרְעֵלָה *wine* (of, i.e. causing) *reeling;* Pr. 22. 21 אֲמָרִים אֱמֶת *truthful words* (constr. earlier), Zech. 1. 13, Is. 3. 24 *work* (of) *crisping*, Dan. 8. 13. Ez. 18. 6 אִשָּׁה נִדָּה *a woman* (in her time of) *impurity*. 1 K. 6. 7.

Rem. 1. In cases where a noun without Art. follows a noun which (unlike the exx. in § 39*d*) is patently def. in reference, it is probably used "adverbially" (*in respect of*), e.g. 1 Chr. 28. 18 הַכְּרוּבִים זָהָב *the gold cherubim*, Lev. 6. 3 מִדּוֹ בַד *his linen garment*, Ps. 71. 7 מַחְסִי עֹז *my strong refuge*, 2 S. 22. 23, Ez. 16. 27, Hab. 3. 8. So Lev. 26. 42 בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב *my covenant with J.*, cf. Is. 28. 18. Distinguish from cases like Ps. 38. 20 שִׂנְאֵי שָׁקֶר *those wrongfully hating me;* 35. 19; 69. 5; 119. 86, Ez. 13. 22 involving ptcp. or infin., which are

properly adverbial.

Rem. 2. The word כֹּל *all* with suff. is often placed in appos., 2 S. 2. 9 יִשְׂרָאֵל כֻּלָּהּ Israel *all of it*, 1 K. 22. 28, Is. 9. 8; 14. 29, 31, Jer. 13. 19, Ez. 11. 15; 14. 5; 20. 40, Mic. 2. 12. The archaic form of suff. is common, Is. 15. 3; 16. 7, Jer. 2. 21; 8. 6, 10; 20. 7. — In such phrases as 1 S. 4. 10 וַיָּנֻסוּ אִישׁ לְאָהָלָיו *each* is in appos. to the verbal subj.; sometimes אִישׁ precedes, Is. 13. 8, 14. For pron. in appos. cf. § 1*c*; § 6, R. 1.

Rem. 3. An anticipative pron. sometimes precedes the subj. or obj., which then stands in appos. to the pron., Ex. 2. 6 וַתִּרְאֵהוּ אֶת־הַיֶּלֶד *and she saw him, the child*, Ez. 10. 3 בְּבֹאוֹ הָאִישׁ *when he came, the man*. Ex. 7. 11; 35. 5, Lev. 13. 57, Josh. 1. 2, 1 K. 21. 13, 2 K. 16. 15, Jer. 31. 1, Ez. 3. 21; 42. 14; 44. 7, Ps. 83. 12, Pr. 5. 22, Song 3. 7, 1 Chr. 5. 26; 9. 22, Ezr. 3. 12; 9. 1, Dan. 11. 11, 27. This usage is common in Aram., and increases with time, but it is not restricted to late passages. See § 150, R. 4.

Rem. 4. When the same word is repeated in appos. *intensity* of various kinds is expressed, e.g. the superl. of adj., 1 S. 2. 3 *very proudly*, Is. 6. 3 *most holy*, Ecc. 7. 24 *very deep*. With nouns Gen. 14. 10, Ex. 8. 10, 2 K. 3. 16, Jud. 5. 22, Joel 4. 14. — With words of time the idea of *continuity*, Deu. 14. 22 שָׁנָה שָׁנָה *year* (by) *year*, though the usage with בְּ is commoner, Deu. 15. 20 שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה, 1 S. 1. 7, Nu. 24. 1, Jud. 16. 20, 2 K. 17. 4. Cf. Deu. 2. 27 *always* (only) *by the road*, 16. 20 *always justice*. Ex. 23. 30, Deu. 28. 43.

With Numerals the idea of *distribution*, Gen. 7. 2 *seven pairs* (*vs.* 9 *two* (by) *two*), Jos. 3. 12, Is. 6. 2 (sometimes with *and*, 2 S. 21. 20, 1 Chr. 20. 6). Gen. 32. 17 each flock separately, 2 K. 17. 29.

(When the same word is repeated with *and* the idea of variety is expressed, Deu. 25. 13, 14 *stone and stone* (different weights), Ps. 12. 3, 1 Chr. 12. 34, Pr. 20. 10. The usage is common in later style to express *respective, various, several,* 1 Chr. 28. 14 the *respective services, vs.* 16 the *various tables.* 1 Chr. 26. 13, 2 Chr. 8. 14; 11. 12; 19. 5, etc., Ezr. 10. 14, Neh. 13. 24, Est. 1. 8, 22, and often. With כֹּל prefixed, Est. 2. 11 *every day*, 2 Chr. 11. 12.)

§ 40. Characteristic of Hebr. is the extension of the appositional construction to nominal clauses. Gen. 11. 1 all the earth had (lit. *was*) שָׂפָה אֶחָת וּדְבָרִים אֲחָדִים *one language and few* (or, the same) *words;* 14. 10 the valley *was pits, pits* (full of pits), Is. 5. 12 whose feasts *are* (replete with) *harp and lyre*, etc., Ps. 45. 9 all your robes *are* (fragrant with) *myrrh*, etc., Ezr. 10. 13 the season *was rains* (rainy). Gen. 13. 10, 2 S. 17. 3, 1 K. 10. 6, Is. 7. 24; 65. 4, Jer. 24. 2; 48. 38, Mic. 5. 4, Ez. 2. 8; 27. 36, Zech. 8. 13, Ps. 10. 5; 19. 10; 25. 10; 55. 22; 92. 9; 109. 4; 110. 3; 111. 7; 120. 7, Pr. 3. 17; 8. 30, Job 3. 4; 5. 24; 8. 9, 2 Chr. 9. 5 (cf. 10. 11).

The Adjective. Comparison

§ 41. The adj. differs from a noun in appos. in describing a state or quality of its accompanying noun which is (broadly speaking) incidental rather than integral to it. But like a noun in appos. or indeed the second member of a constr. relation it follows the noun whose meaning it modifies. Like them it agrees with its accompanying noun for definiteness or indefiniteness but unlike them it also agrees with it in gender and number. Gen. 21. 8 מִשְׁתֶּה גָּדוֹל *a great feast;* 20. 9 חֲטָאָה גְדֹלָה *a great sin;* Is. 5. 9 בָּתִּים רַבִּים *many houses;* Deu. 9. 1 עָרִים גְּדֹלֹת *great cities.* Is. 14. 3 הָעֲבֹדָה הַקָּשָׁה *the hard service;* 1 S. 12. 22 שְׁמוֹ הַגָּדוֹל *his great name;* Gen. 41. 7 הַשִּׁבֳּלִים הַדַּקּוֹת *the thin ears of corn;* Is. 8. 7 מֵי הַנָּהָר הָעֲצוּמִים *the mighty waters* of the River. If there be several adj. the concord of all is the same, Is. 27. 1 בְּחַרְבּוֹ הַקָּשָׁה וְהַגְּדוֹלָה וְהַחֲזָקָה with his *sore* and *great* and *strong sword.*

The concord of the adj. when *pred.* is the same as when it is qualificative, except that it is indef. with a def. subject. It usually precedes, most clauses of this type being classifying, 1 K. 2. 38 טוֹב הַדָּבָר *the word is good,* Hos. 9. 7, Jer. 12. 1 צַדִּיק אַתָּה *you are righteous.* But this order is overridden in e.g. a circumst. or adversative clause in which the subj. comes first, Nu. 13. 28 וְהֶעָרִים בְּצֻרוֹת גְּדֹלֹת מְאֹד *now* (or *but*) *the cities are fortified* (and) *very large.* See further Nomin. Cl., § 49.

§ 42. The adj. having no dual is used in *plur.* with dual nouns, Is. 35. 3 בִּרְכַּיִם כֹּשְׁלוֹת *failing knees;* 42. 7 עֵינַיִם עִוְרוֹת *blind eyes,* Ex. 17. 12 וְיָדֵי מֹשֶׁה כְּבֵדִים *now the hands* of M. were *heavy* (*hand* mas. only here, cf. Ez. 2. 9). Gen. 29. 17, 1 S. 3. 2, Ps. 18. 28; 130. 2, Pr. 6. 17, 18.

With collectives agreement may be grammatical in the *sing.*, or *ad sensum* in the *plur.*, 1 S. 13. 15 הָעָם הַנִּמְצְאִים עִמּוֹ that people *that were present* with him; but in *vs.* 16 הָעָם הַנִּמְצָא. § 25.

With intensive plur. the adj. is usually sing., Is. 19. 4 אֲדֹנִים קָשֶׁה *a harsh master,* Ps. 7. 10 אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק *O righteous God;* but sometimes plur., Josh. 24. 19 אֱלֹהִים קְדֹשִׁים *a holy God* (cf. plur. verb Gen. 20. 13; 35. 7). So 1 S. 17. 26 א׳ חַיִּים *the living God,* Deu. 5. 23, Jer. 23. 36, but also א׳ חַי 2 K. 19. 4, 16. Cf. *Teraphim* of single image, 1 S. 19. 13, 16; but in Gen. 31. 34 Ter. is treated as plur. § 26, R. 3.

On concord of demons. adj. זֶה, הוּא cf. § 6.

Rem. 1 Occasionally the adj. seems to precede the noun, particularly רַב in plur. (sing. Is. 21. 7; 63. 7, Ps. 31. 20; 145. 7) Jer. 16. 16, Ps. 32. 10; 89. 51, Pr. 7. 26; 31. 29, Neh. 9. 28, 1 Chr. 28. 5, probably on the analogy of a numeral. Other cases may be explained as pred., Is. 28. 21 *strange is* his work, or as an element in an appositional construction, Is. 23. 12 *O violated one*, virgin etc.; 53. 11, Jer. 3. 7, 10 *Treacherous*, her sister.

Rem. 2. Sometimes the noun is defined and adj. without the Art. (1) Counting adj. like אֶחָד *one*, אַחֵר *another*, רַבִּים *many* may, on the analogy of numerals, dispense with the Art:, Gen. 42. 19 (Art. *vs.* 33), 1 S. 13. 17, 2 K. 25. 16, Jer. 24. 2, Ez. 10. 9; Gen. 43. 14, Jer. 22. 26; Ez. 39. 27. (2) In some cases an adj. is apparently used "adverbially", specifying a particular condition of the noun, Gen. 37. 2, Nu. 14. 37, 1 S. 2. 23 (Sep. wants), Is. 57. 20, Ez. 4. 13; 34. 12, Hag. 1. 4, Ps. 18. 18; 92. 12. (3) In 2 S. 6. 3 *new cart* may express a single idea (cf. Mic. 2. 7) to which Art. is prefixed. Cf. the formulas אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים, אֵ֣ל חַי *the living God.*

In other cases the adj. is defined and noun without Art. (1) Phrases with a num. or כֹּל followed by a noun and adj. may be made def. by prefixing Art. to adj. only. Gen. 21. 29; 41. 26, Nu. 11. 25, cf. 2 S. 20. 3, Gen. 1. 21; 9. 10. (2) Certain half-technical terms (§ 31, R. 2) which do not take Art. have Art. on a qualifying adj.; so adj. following *court* (1 K. 7. 12, 2 K. 20. 4 *Qere*, Ez. 40. 28, 31), *gate* (Ez. 9. 2, Zech. 14. 10), *entrance* (Jer. 38. 14). Also following *way* (1 S. 12. 23, Jer. 6. 16, cf. Jud. 21. 19), *day*, particularly ordinals (Gen. 1. 31, Ex. 12. 15; 20. 10, Deu. 5. 14, Lev. 19. 6; 22. 27, cf. Is. 43. 13. (3) Other exx. 1 S. 6. 18; 16. 23, 2 S. 12. 4, 2 K. 20. 13 (Jer. 6. 20, Song 7. 10), Jer. 17. 2 (Ps. 104. 18); 32. 14, Zech. 4. 7, Ps. 62. 4, Neh. 9. 35. (4) With ptcp. Jud. 21. 19, Jer. 27. 3; 46. 16 (Zech. 11. 2).

Rem. 3. When two adj. qualify a *fem.* noun the second is sometimes left in *mas.* (uninflected). 1 K. 19. 11 רוּחַ גְּדוֹלָה וְחָזָק a *great* and *strong* wind, Jer. 20. 9 (1 S. 15. 9). So in nominal clauses a pred. adj. when first may remain uninflected, Ps. 119. 137 יָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ *upright* are your judgements, cf. *vs.* 155, espec. if it is טוֹב, Jud. 8. 2, Gen. 49. 15, 1 S. 19. 4, 2 K. 5. 12, Ps. 73. 28; 119. 72; 147. 1, Pr. 17. 1; 20. 23.

Rem. 4. The adj. is sometimes used nominally after noun in constr., 2 K. 18. 17 חֵיל כָּבֵד *a great force*, Is. 22. 24 כָּל־כְּלִי הַקָּטָן all the *smallest vessels*, Song 7. 10 יֵין הַטּוֹב wine *of the best.* Deu. 19. 13; 27. 25, Jer. 22. 17 (cf. 2 K. 24. 4), Nu. 5. 18, 2 K. 25. 9 (Am. 6. 2 ?), Zech. 14. 4, Ps. 73. 10; 74. 15 (cf. Ex. 14. 27); 78. 49; 109. 2, 2 Chr. 4. 10, Ecc. 1. 13; 8. 10. — Other exx. of adj. used nominally, Gen. 30. 35, 37 (exposing *the white*), Deu. 28. 48 (and *nakedness*), Jos. 3. 4 (*a distance*), Jud. 9. 16; 14. 14 (*sweetness*), Jos. 24. 14, 2 K. 10. 15, Jer. 2. 25; 15. 15; 30. 12, Is. 28. 4 (§ 36, R. 1), *vs.* 16, Ps. 111. 8, Job 33. 27. — Conversely the noun may follow a constr. adj. used nominally, often with superlative meaning, Jud. 5. 29 (the *wisest*), Is. 19. 11; 35. 9, Ez. 7. 24; 28. 7.

Ex. 15. 16, 1 S. 16. 7; 17. 40, Jer. 15. 15, Ps. 46. 5; 65. 5.

Rem. 5. The adj. when it expresses the characteristic attribute of a noun is sometimes used instead of it, Is. 24. 23 הַלְּבָנָה the *moon* (*the white*), הַחַמָּה the *sun* (*the hot*); 30. 16 קַל *horse* (swift), Jer. 8. 16, Mal. 3. 11 הָאֹכֵל *the eater* (*locust*). Mostly in poetry.

§ 43. *Comparison.* The language possessing no special form, comparison is made (*a*) by the simple form of the adj., followed by prep. מִן, Gen. 3. 1 עָרוּם מִכֹּל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה *more cunning than* all the wild animals; Deu. 11. 23 גּוֹיִם גְּדֹלִים מִכֶּם nations *greater than* you; Hos. 2. 9 כִּי טוֹב לִי אָז מֵעַתָּה it was *better* for me then *than* now; 1 S. 9. 2 גָּבֹהַּ מִכָּל־הָעָם *taller than* any of the people. Jud. 14. 18, 1 S. 24. 18, 2 S. 19. 8. With *better* the subj. is often an infin., Gen. 29. 19, Ps. 118. 8, 9, Pr. 21. 3, 9 (§ 51).

(*b*) By a stative verb and מִן, Gen. 41. 40 אֶגְדַּל מִמֶּךָּ *I will be greater than* you; 29. 30 וַיֶּאֱהַב אֶת־רָחֵל מִלֵּאָה *he loved* R. *more than* L., 2 S. 1. 23 מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ *they were swifter than* eagles and *stronger than* lions. With active verbs, Gen. 19. 9 עַתָּה נָרַע לְךָ מֵהֶם now *will we treat you worse than* them. Gen. 37. 4; 48. 19, Deu. 7. 7, Jud. 2. 19, 1 S. 18. 30, 2 S. 6. 22; 18. 8; 20. 5, 6, 1 K. 5. 10, 11; 10. 23; 14. 9.

§ 44. The *superlative* is expressed by the simple adj. with Art., or in constr. before a noun or pron., 1 S. 17. 14 וְדָוִד הוּא הַקָּטָן and David was *the youngest;* 18. 17 בִּתִּי הַגְּדוֹלָה *my eldest* (elder) daughter, Deu. 21. 3. — 2 K. 10. 6 גְּדֹלֵי הָעִיר *the great(est) men* of the city; Jer. 6. 13 מִקְּטַנָּם וְעַד־גְּדוֹלָם from *the least* to *the greatest* of them. Gen. 9. 24; 10. 21; 29. 16; 42. 13; 43. 29, Jud. 6. 15; 15. 2, 1 S. 9. 21, Mic. 7. 4, Jon. 3. 5, 2 Chr. 21. 17, Ps. 45. 13. See also § 42, R. 4. Absolute superlativeness is expressed by מְאֹד *very*, Jud. 3. 17 בָּרִיא מְאֹד *very fat*, Gen. 12. 14; 41. 31, which may be intensified by prep. עַד, 1 K. 1. 4 וְהַנַּעֲרָה יָפָה עַד־מְאֹד (now) the girl was *extremely pretty*, 2 S. 2. 17, Gen. 27. 33; or בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד Ez. 9. 9; or מ׳ is repeated without prep., Nu. 14. 7.

Rem. 1. The adj. or verb with מִן may often be rendered by *too* or *rather than*. Gen. 18. 14 הֲיִפָּלֵא מִי׳ דָּבָר is anything *too hard for* Y.? (Deu. 17. 8, Jer. 32. 17, 27), Jud. 7. 2 רַב מִמֶּתִּי *too many for me to give*, 1 K. 8. 64 קָטֹן מֵהָכִיל *too small to contain*, Gen. 4. 13 גָּדוֹל מִנְּשׂוֹא *too great to bear* (or *to forgive*), Is. 49. 6 *too light to be*, Ex. 18. 18, 1 K. 19. 7, Gen. 26. 16; 36. 7, Ru. 1. 12, Hab. 1. 13, Ps. 139. 12 *too dark for you*. So with מְעַט, Is. 7. 13 is wearying men *too*

little for you? Nu. 16. 9. — Hos. 6. 6 knowledge of God *rather than burnt offerings;* Ps. 52. 5 evil *rather than good,* Hab. 2. 16, Job 7. 15.

Rem. 2. That an adj. is being used comparatively may have to be deduced from the context, Jud. 9. 2 which is *better* for you? 1 K. 18. 27 cry *more loudly,* cf. *vs.* 26. And sometimes an adj. before מִן is omitted and has to be understood, Is. 10. 10 (greater or more) *than* (those of) *Jerusalem,* Job 11. 17 (clearer) *than noon,* Is. 40. 17; 41. 24, Ps. 62. 10.

Rem. 3. A superl. sense is expressed by joining a noun with its own plur., Gen. 9. 25 a *slave of slaves* (lowest slave), Ex. 26. 33 *holy of holies* (most holy place), Is. 34. 10 *for all eternity,* Ecc. 1. 2 *vanity of vanities,* Jer. 3. 19; 6. 28, Song 1. 1, cf. Deu. 10. 17, 1 K. 8. 27.

Rem. 4. Like the simple adj. the abstract noun in constr. may convey superl. meaning, as טוּב *the best* (Gen. 45. 18, Is. 1. 19), מֵיטַב *the best* (1 S. 15. 9, 15), מִבְחָר *the choicest* (Ex. 15. 4, Deu. 12. 11), רֹאשׁ, רֵאשִׁית *the chiefest* (Nu. 24. 20, Am. 6. 1, 6).

Rem. 5. A kind of superl. sense is given to a word by connecting it with the divine name (יהוה, אֱלֹהִים, אֵל). Probably the idea was that God originated the thing, or that it belonged to him, and was therefore extraordinary, even godlike; but sometimes the meaning appears to be "in God's estimation", cf. Gen. 10. 9, Acts 7. 20. Gen. 23. 6 נְשִׂיא אֱלֹהִים *a mighty prince,* Ps. 36. 7 כְּהַרְרֵי אֵל like the *great mountains,* Song 8. 6 שַׁלְהֶבְתְיָה *a most vehement flame,* Jon. 3. 3 עִיר גְּדוֹלָה לֵאלֹהִים *an exceeding great city.* Gen. 30. 8 (*mighty wrestlings*), 1 S. 14. 15 (*a very great panic*), Ps. 68. 16 (*a lofty hill*); 80. 11 (*the mighty cedars*). Not so likely Gen. 1. 2 (NEB *a mighty wind*).

The Numerals

§ 45. The Numeral *one* is mostly an adj., having the usual place and concord (§ 41). 1 S. 2. 34 בְּיוֹם אֶחָד in *one* (a single) day, 1 K. 18. 23 הַפָּר הָאֶחָד *the one* ox, Gen. 11. 6 שָׂפָה אַחַת *one* speech; 32. 9 הַמַּחֲנֶה הָאַחֵת *the one* company. Occasionally the Art. is lacking in a defin. phrase, § 42, R. 2.

But it may be construed nominally — (*a*) in constr. before plur. noun, Gen. 22. 2 אַחַד הֶהָרִים *one* of the mountains, 2 S. 2. 1, Job 2. 10; (*b*) in constr., but followed by מִן, Gen. 3. 22 אַחַד מִמֶּנּוּ *one* of us; 2. 21, Lev. 13. 2, Nu. 16. 15, 1 S. 9. 3, 1 K. 19. 2; 22. 13, 2 K. 6. 12; 9. 1; less commonly in absol., 1 S. 16. 18 אֶחָד מֵהַנְּעָרִים *one* of the young men; 26. 22, 2 S. 2. 21; (*c*) itself preceded by a sing. noun in constr. (§ 42, R. 4), Lev. 24. 22 מִשְׁפַּט אֶחָד *one* judgement, 2 K. 12. 10, Is. 36. 9.

Rem. 1. On adj. אֶחָד as substitute for indef. Art. see § 28, R. 1. On Deu. 6. 4 see § 49, R. 3. Plur. אֲחָדִים means *few, a few*, Gen. 11. 1; 29. 20.

§ 46. The Cardinals 2 - 10 are nouns, construed with the counted noun either in a constr. or an appositional phrase. Concord in the case of *two* is normal, but the Num. 3 - 10 have the opposite gender to the counted noun; no satisfactory explanation of this peculiarity has yet been given. The counted noun is plur. (very exceptionally sing. coll., 2 K. 22. 1).

(*a*) With *indef.* nouns *two* is more commonly in constr. than in appos. 2 K. 5. 22 שְׁנֵי נְעָרִים *two young men*, Gen. 19. 8; 41. 50, Ex. 25. 12, Deu. 4. 13, Jud. 3. 16, 1 S. 1. 2. 1 K. 3. 16 שְׁתַּיִם נָשִׁים *two women*, Deu. 17. 6, 1 K. 10. 19; 17. 12; 18. 23, 2 K. 2. 24. In the case of 3 - 10 Appos. is the dominant pattern. Gen. 29. 34 שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים *three sons*. Deu. 19. 2 שָׁלוֹשׁ עָרִים *three cities*. 31. 10 שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים *seven years*. Gen. 30. 20; 45. 23; 47. 2, Deu. 3. 11; 16. 9, 16, Jos. 6. 4; Jud. 9. 34; 16. 8, 1 S. 1. 8; 17. 12, 2 S. 21. 6, 1 K. 7. 4, 30, Job 1. 2. Exceptionally 1 K. 11. 16 שִׁשָּׁה חֳדָשִׁים *six months*. There are also two general exceptions — (1) With יָמִים *days* the constr. is usual. Jud. 19. 4 שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים *three days*, Gen. 17. 12, Deu. 5. 13; 16. 4, 8, 13, Jos. 1. 11; 6. 3; but cf. 2 K. 2. 17 שְׁלֹשָׁה יָמִים. (2) So before *other* Num., 1 S. 25. 2 שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים *three thousand*. 1 K. 5. 30 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת *three hundred*. Jos. 7. 3; 8. 12, Jud. 3. 29; 4. 6, 13; 15. 11, 1 S. 26. 2.

(*b*) With *def.* nouns the Num. is mostly in constr. before the counted noun. Gen. 1. 16 אֶת־שְׁנֵי הַמְּאֹרֹת הַגְּדֹלִים *the two great lights*. 19. 16 שְׁתֵּי בְנֹתָיו *his two daughters*. Deu. 10. 4 עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדְּבָרִים *the ten words*. Jos. 10. 16 חֲמֵשֶׁת הַמְּלָכִים *the five kings*. Jud. 3. 3 חֲמֵשֶׁת סַרְנֵי *the five lords* of the Ph. 1 S. 16. 10 שִׁבְעַת בָּנָיו *his seven sons*. Gen. 40. 12, 18, Nu. 23. 4, Jud. 14. 12; 18. 7, 1 S. 17. 13, 2 S. 21. 22; 23. 16, 1 K. 21. 13, 2 K. 25. 18, Zech. 6. 5. But appos. is found, the Num. lacking Art. (R. 2). 1 S. 17. 14 שְׁלֹשָׁה הַגְּדֹלִים *the three eldest*, Jos. 6. 8, 23; 15. 14, 1 K. 11. 3. Cases like Am. 1. 3, 6, 9 etc. are according to § 29, R. 2. See also § 42, R. 2.

(*c*) The Num. may follow the noun is appos., mostly but not exclusively in late passages. 1 Chr. 12. 39 יָמִים שְׁלוֹשָׁה *three days*. Gen. 32. 15, 16, Nu. 29. 26, 2 K. 25. 16, 1 Chr. 22. 14; 25. 5, 2 Chr. 3. 12; 4. 8, Ezr. 8. 15, Neh. 2. 11, Dan. 1. 5, 12, 15, cf. Jos. 21 *passim*. *Def.*, 1 K. 7. 27 אֵת־הַמְּכֹנוֹת עֶשֶׂר נְחֹשֶׁת *the ten stands* of bronze (§ 39, R. 1).

Rem. 1. The *gend.* of 3 - 10 is sometimes inexact, in some cases corrected by *Qere*, Gen. 7. 13, Ex. 26. 26, Ez. 7. 2; 45. 3, Job 1. 4, 1 Chr. 3. 20.

Rem. 2. Numerals, whether 2 - 10 or larger, are regarded as sufficiently def. to be able in appos. phrases to dispense with the Art. Cases like Nu. 16. 35, Jos. 4. 4 are quite exceptional. Num. as independent nouns, however, may take Art. 2 S. 23. 23 *the three, the thirty;* Gen. 18. 29 *the forty;* 2 K. 1. 13 *the third fifty; vs.* 14 *the former* (pl.) *fifties;* with suff. *vs.* 9. Gen. 14. 9, Nu. 3. 46, Deu. 19. 9. They may also take suff., especially the units, as שְׁנֵינוּ *we two*, שְׁלָשְׁתָּם *the three of them*, etc. Nu. 12. 4, 1 S. 25. 43, 2 S. 21. 9, Ez. 1. 8, Dan. 1. 17. Cf. 1 K. 3. 18 שְׁתַּיִם אֲנַחְנוּ *we two*, 1 S. 20. 42. Num. followed by אֱלֶה with Art. Deu. 19. 9; by אֵלֶּה without Art. Gen. 9. 19; 22. 23; in constr. before אֵלֶּה Ex. 21. 11, 2 S. 21. 22, Is. 47. 9.

Rem. 3. The order counted noun - Num. (whether 2 - 10 or larger) increases in later passages, but never completely replaces the order Num. - noun. It should not therefore be taken as a firm feature of Late Hebr. Other factors, e.g. the use of Num. in official lists and documents (and in citations from these) may be involved. The same is probably true of other usages of Num. whose incidence increases in such passages.

Rem. 4. As a rhetorical device in *numerical sayings* a Num. may be joined, with וְ or more commonly without, to the one above to express an indeterminate number, Engl. *two or three*, etc. Thus with *one* first Deu. 32. 30, Jer. 3. 14, Ps. 62. 12, Job 33. 14; 40. 5; with *two* first 2 K. 9. 32, Is. 17. 6, Hos. 6. 2, Am. 4. 8; with *three* first Jer. 36. 23; Am. 1. 3-15; 2. 1-6; with *four* first Is. 17. 6; with *seven* first Mic. 5. 4, Ecc. 11. 2. Where the saying is more precise and instances are given, these may accord with the smaller Num. (*six ... seven* Job 5. 19-22) or with the larger (*three ... four* Pr. 30. 15-16, 18-19, 21-31; *six ... seven* Pr. 6. 16-19).

§ 47. Cardinals above the units have the counted noun in *plur.* (except collectives, words of time, measure and weight, and certain class nouns, Rem. 1). They stand in appos. and mainly precede their noun - but may follow, espec. in later passages (see § 46, R. 3). When they follow, the counted noun is plur., even though otherwise employed in sing.

(*a*) The *teens* 11 - 19. In these the units *one* and *two* and (against the usage when it is independent) *ten* agree in gend. with the counted noun, whereas 3 - 9 (as when they are independent) take the opposite gender. Gen. 37. 9 אַחַד עָשָׂר כּוֹכָבִים *eleven stars.* 2 S. 9. 10 חֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר בָּנִים *fifteen sons.* Jos. 4. 8 שְׁתֵּי־עֶשְׂרֵה אֲבָנִים *twelve stones* (fem.). 2 Chr. 13. 21 שֵׁשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה בָּנוֹת *sixteen daughters.* Gen. 32. 23; 42. 13, Ex. 15. 27; 24. 4;

27. 15, Nu. 17. 14; 29. 14, 15, Deu. 1. 23, Jos. 15. 41, Jud. 3. 14, 2 S. 2. 30; 19. 18, 1 K. 18. 31, 2 K. 14. 21.

(*b*) The *tens* 20 - 90. These are *mas.* plur. forms and are not marked for gender. Jud. 12. 14 אַרְבָּעִים בָּנִים *forty sons.* Gen. 18. 24 חֲמִשִּׁים צַדִּיקִם *fifty righteous.* 32. 16 אֲתֹנֹת עֶשְׂרִים *twenty she-asses.* Gen. 18. 26, 28, Ex. 15. 27; 21. 32, Jud. 1. 7; 8. 30; 10. 4; 12. 14; 14. 11-13, 2 S. 3. 20; 9. 10, 2 K. 2. 16; 10. 1; 13. 7; 15. 20, Ez. 42. 2; 45. 12.

(*c*) Numbers composed of tens and units are treated as a single number, e.g. *twenty-and-three*, and as they stand in appos. both elements remain in the abs. (cases like 2 K. 2. 24 are exceptional). The gend. of the unit changes in the normal way. Jud. 10. 2 עֶשְׂרִים וְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנָה *twenty-three years* (Rem. 1). Espec. but not only in later style the order *three-and-twenty* occurs, as does a tendency, in either order, to repeat the counted noun with each element of the Num. § 46, R. 3.

Jud. 7. 3 עֶשְׂרִים וּשְׁנַיִם אֶלֶף *twenty-two thousand* (cf. Rem. 1). Nu. 7. 88 ע׳ וְאַרְבָּעָה פָּרִים *twenty-four oxen.* Dominant order: Nu. 35. 6, Jos. 12. 24; 19. 30; 21. 39, Jud. 10. 3; 20. 15, 35, 46, 2 K. 10. 14, Ez. 11. 1, 1 Chr. 2. 22; 12. 28. Unit first: Gen. 11. 24, Ex. 38. 24, Nu. 3. 39, 43; 26. 22; 31. 38, Jud. 20. 21. Repetition of *year, years*: Gen. 5. 15; 12. 4; 23. 1; 25. 7. Cf. Gen. 5 *passim*, Gen. 11. 13-25. Lev. 12. 4, 5 (repet. of *day, days*), Nu. 31. 32ff. (of *thousand, thousands*)

(*d*) The usage is the same with מֵאָה *hundred*, מָאתַיִם, מֵאוֹת (all in abs.; constr. מְאַת occasional, Gen. 11. 10); with אֶלֶף *thousand*, אַלְפַּיִם, אֲלָפִים (constr. אַלְפֵי occasional, Ex. 32. 28, Job 1. 3). 1 K. 18. 4 מֵאָה נְבִיאִים *a hundred prophets.* Jud. 15. 4 שְׁלֹשׁ־מֵאוֹת שׁוּעָלִים *three-hundred foxes.* 1 K. 3. 4 אֶלֶף עֹלוֹת *a thousand burnt-offerings.* 2 K. 3. 4 מֵאָה אֶלֶף אֵילִים *a hundred thousand rams.* 2 K. 18. 23 אַלְפַּיִם סוּסִים *two thousand horses.* Exx. of *hundred*: Jud. 7. 22, 1 S. 17. 7; 18. 25; 25. 18; 30. 21, 2 S. 3. 14; 8. 4; 14. 26; 16. 1, 1 K. 7. 20; 10. 17; 11. 3, Jos. 7. 21. Exx. of *thousand*: 1 S. 13. 5; 17. 5, 1 K. 5. 6, Job 42. 12.

Also found is רְבָבָה and (late) רִבּוֹ, רִבּוֹא (fem.) *ten thousand, myriad*: Gen. 24. 60, Jon. 4. 11, Ezr. 2. 64, 1 Chr. 29. 7.

(*e*) When the expression is def. the Art. usually goes with the counted noun, and the Num. is def. in itself. Jud. 7. 7 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת הָאִישׁ *the three hundred men* (Rem. 1). 17. 3 אֵת־אֶלֶף וּמֵאָה הַכֶּסֶף *the eleven hundred* (shekels of) *silver* (Rem. 2). 1 S. 30. 21 מָאתַיִם הָאֲנָשִׁים *the two*

hundred men. Cf. § 46, R. 2. Gen. 18. 28, Ex. 26. 19; 36. 24, Jos. 4. 20, Jud. 7. 22; 18. 17, 1 K. 7. 44, 2 Chr. 25. 9.

Rem. 1. Apart from the regular collectives (בָּקָר *cattle*, צֹאן *sheep*, רֶכֶב *cavalry*, גּוֹלָה *captives*, etc.) many other nouns may be used collectively (or is the usage "adverbial"?) after Num., exceptionally after the units (Ex. 16. 22, 2 K. 8. 17; 22. 1; 25. 17 *Ket.*), much more frequently after the teens, tens and above. See § 21. Among the commonest so used are אֶלֶף *thousand* when preceded by another Num., and words of time, measure and weight: יוֹם *day*, לַיְלָה *night* (as in Gen. 7. 4), חֹדֶשׁ *month* (often plur.), אַמָּה *cubit* (often plur.), the measures כֹּר and בַּת, כִּכָּר *talent* (also plur.), גֵּרָה, שֶׁקֶל (oftenest plur.), etc. Other nouns frequently so used are אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *person*, שֵׁבֶט *tribe*. Rarer exx.: Gen. 33. 19 (unit of money), Ex. 24. 4 (*pillar*), Nu. 35. 6 (*city*), Deu. 7. 9 (*generation*), Jud. 21. 12 (*virgin*), 1 K. 5. 12 (*proverb*); 20. 1, 16 (*king*), Est. 1. 1 (*province*). Usage fluctuates considerably; comp. 1 K. 10. 16 with 17 (*shield, shields*) and 2 K. 2. 16 with 17 (*man, men*). — Adj. and words in appos. attached to such phrases may agree gramm. in sing. (1 S. 22. 18, 1 K. 20. 16) or *ad sensum* in plur. (Jud. 18. 16, 1 K. 1. 5). § 25.

Rem. 2. Words readily understood in expression of weight or measure, as *shekel, ephah,* may be omitted. Gen. 24. 22 עֲשָׂרָה זָהָב *ten* (shekels) *gold*. Gen. 20. 16 אֶלֶף כֶּסֶף *a thousand* (pieces of) *silver*. Ru. 3. 15 שֵׁשׁ שְׂעֹרִים *six* (ephahs) *barley*. Gen. 45. 22, Jud. 17. 10, 1 S. 17. 17 (*loaves*); 21. 4, 1 K. 10. 16 (*talents*).

§ 48. The Ordinals. — (*a*) The ordinals *first - tenth* are adj. and used regularly. Jud. 19. 5 בַּיּוֹם הָרְבִיעִי *on the fourth day*. 2 K. 18. 9 בַּשָּׁנָה הָרְבִיעִית. So always in stating the number of the *month* (cf. *c*), 1 Chr. 27. 2-13.

(*b*) From *eleventh* upwards the Card. numbers do duty for ordinals, and Art. is not generally used with the noun. Deu. 1. 3 בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה *in the fortieth year*. 2 K. 25. 27 בִּשְׁנֵים עָשָׂר חֹדֶשׁ *in the twelfth month*. Ex. 16. 1, Deu. 1. 2, 3, 2 K. 25. 27, Jer. 25. 3, 1 Chr. 24. 12-18; 25. 18-31.

(*c*) In stating dates there are some peculiarities. 1. The phrase "of the month" is circumscribed by prep., לַחֹדֶשׁ, and *day* is often omitted. Ex. 16. 1 בַּחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the fifteenth day of the month*. 2 K. 25. 27 בְּעֶשְׂרִים וְשִׁבְעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the twenty-seventh of the month*. Even the Card. 1 - 10 are greatly used in this case, mostly with om. of *day*. 2 K. 25. 8 בְּשִׁבְעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the seventh*. Deu. 1. 3 בְּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the first*. Gen. 8. 5, Lev. 23. 32, Ez. 1. 1, Zech. 7. 1, cf. 2 Chr. 29. 17, Ezr. 3. 6.

2. The word *year* is very often put in the constr. before the whole

phrase, Num. and year. 2 K. 8. 25 בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה *in the year of twelve years* (the twelfth year), 1 K. 16. 8, 15, 29, 2 K. 8. 25; 14. 23; 15. 13, 17, 23, 27; 25. 8. And with *year* understood: 1 K. 15. 25, 28 בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם *in the year of two* (years), 1 K. 16. 10; 22. 41, 2 K. 3. 1; 15. 30, 32; 18. 10; 24. 12, Zech. 7. 7, Ezr. 5. 13, Neh. 1. 1, Dan. 1. 21; 2. 1. Less commonly *year* is in constr. before the def. Ord. (1 - 10). 2 K. 17. 6 בִּשְׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית *in the year of the ninth* (year), 2 K. 25. 1, Jer. 32. 1, Ezr. 7. 8, Neh. 2. 1; 5. 14.

Rem. 1. The Art. seems used with the Num. in cases where the whole expression is def., as Lev. 25. 10, 11, *the fiftieth year* (of jubilee), Deu. 15. 9, 1 K. 19. 19; but occasionally also in other cases falling under *b* - *c* above: Ex. 12. 18, Nu. 33. 38, 1 K. 6. 38, 1 Chr. 24. 16; 25. 19; 27. 15. Its place varies, cp. 1 K. 19. 19 שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר הֶעָשָׂר with 1 Chr. 25. 19 הַשְּׁנֵים עָשָׂר.

Rem. 2. Distributives. — (*a*) These may be expressed by Card., with לְ *to*: 1 K. 10. 22 אַחַת לְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים once *to* = *every* three years. Ex. 16. 22, 1 K. 5. 2, Ez. 1. 6. (*b*) By repeating the Num., Gen. 7. 2, 3, 9, 15, Ex. 17. 12, 1 K. 8. 13, Ez. 40. 10. § 39, R. 4. Very often the whole phrase is repeated, Is. 6. 2 *six wings, six wings to* each, Jos. 3. 12, Nu. 13. 2; 34. 18, Ex. 36. 30.

Rem. 3. Multiplicatives are expressed variously. — Thus: *as much as* you, they, etc., by כָּכֶם, כָּהֵם, 2 S. 24. 3, Jer. 36. 32, Deut. 1. 11. — *Double* by מִשְׁנֶה, used in Appos. either before or after the noun, Gen. 43. 12 (after), *vs.* 15 (before), Ex. 16. 5, 22. Also by שְׁנַיִם, Ex. 22. 3, 6, 8, *twofold.* — By the *du. fem.* of Num., as 2 S. 12. 6 אַרְבָּעְתַּיִם *fourfold.* Gen. 4. 15 שִׁבְעָתַיִם *sevenfold.* Is. 30. 26, Ps. 12. 7. Or by the simple Card., Lev. 26. 21, 24, cf. Gen. 4. 24 — By יָדוֹת (hands), Gen. 43. 34 *fivefold,* Dan. 1. 20 *tenfold.* Cf. Gen. 26. 12 מֵאָה שְׁעָרִים *a hundredfold.*

Times is expressed by פַּעַם (foot). Gen. 2. 23 הַפַּעַם *this time.* Jos. 6. 3 פ׳ אַחַת *one time.* Neh. 13. 20 פ׳ וּשְׁתַּיִם *once or twice.* Gen. 27. 36; 43. 10 פַּעֲמַיִם *two times,* Ex. 23. 17 שָׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים *three times.* Gen. 33. 3, Nu. 14. 22, Deu. 1. 11, 2 S. 24. 3, 1 K. 22. 16, 2 K. 13. 19, Job 19. 3, Neh. 4. 6. With פַּעַם omitted, 2 K. 6. 10 אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם *once, twice.* 1 K. 10. 22, Job 40. 5. Also בְּאַחַת, בִּשְׁתַּיִם 1 S. 18. 21, Job 33. 14, Nu. 10. 4. With similar omission, שֵׁנִית *a second time* (Gen. 41. 5, Is. 11. 11), בַּשְּׁלִישִׁת *a third time* (1 S. 3. 8), בַּשְּׁבִעִית *a seventh time* (1 K. 18. 44). — Other words for *times* are רְגָלִים, מְנִים; see Lexx.

Rem. 4. Fractions. — Apart from חֲצִי *half* (1 K. 16. 21) fractions are formed: (*a*) by separate words, as רֹבַע (also רֶבַע) a *fourth,* חֹמֶשׁ *a fifth,* עֶשְׂרוֹן *a tenth.* (*b*) By the *fem.* of Ordin. as שְׁלִשִׁית *a third.* Above *tenth* the Card. must be used, Neh. 5. 11. The noun of measure, weight, etc., usually has the Art. after the fraction, § 39*d*.

Nominal Clauses and Subject Complements. Subject Clauses.

§ 49. Nominal clauses in Hebr. link together two nouns or noun-equivalents as subj. and predicate without a copula verb like Engl. *is, was, will be* (the time of the clause is supplied by the context). The term "verbless" is sometimes preferred, but it obscures the fact that such clauses, like phrases linking together two nouns in the constr. relation or by apposition or a noun and adj., belong to the syntax of the noun. There are discernible patterns for the sequence of subj. and pred. in these clauses (Andersen), but they may be countermanded by other patterns, and exceptions are not uncommon.

(*a*) When both subj. and pred. are definite, the subj. precedes the pred. and the clause is one of identification. Gen. 6. 9 אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת נֹחַ *these* are the generations of N. 27. 22 הַקּוֹל קוֹל יַעֲקֹב *the voice* is J.'s voice. Ex. 3. 6 אָנֹכִי אֱלֹהֵי אָבִיךָ *I* am the God of your father. Ps. 74. 12 וֵאלֹהִים מַלְכִּי yet *God* is my king. Pr. 10. 1 וּבֵן כְּסִיל תּוּגַת אִמּוֹ and *a* (*the*) *foolish son* is a sorrow to (the sorrow of) his mother. 18. 11 הוֹן עָשִׁיר קִרְיַת עֻזּוֹ *the rich man's wealth* is his strong city. Gen. 26. 29; 28. 17; 31. 43; 39. 9, Ex. 4. 22; 6. 7, Nu. 11. 16, Deu. 4. 6; 10. 17; 19. 4, 1 S. 16. 12, Is. 7. 9, Mic. 7. 6, Ps. 16. 5; 23. 1; 27. 1; 121. 5, Pr. 10. 5; 12. 5; 14. 24; 18. 11, Job 40. 18, etc. With subj. extraposed and resumed by הוּא etc., Gen. 2. 14 וְהַנָּהָר הָרְבִיעִי הוּא פְּרָת and *the fourth river* is the Euphrates, Deu. 10.9 יְ׳ הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ *Y.* is his inheritance. Other exx. § 1*b*.

(*b*) When the subj. is def. and the pred. indef., the pred. precedes the subj. and the clause is one of classification. Gen. 7. 2 and of the animals אֲשֶׁר לֹא טְהֹרָה הִוא which are *not clean*. 43. 12 אוּלַי מִשְׁגֶּה הוּא perhaps it was *a mistake*. Lev. 16. 4 בִּגְדֵי־קֹדֶשׁ הֵם they are *holy garments*. Deu. 32. 4 צַדִּיק וְיָשָׁר הוּא he is *just and right*. Jud. 12. 5 הַאֶפְרָתִי אַתָּה are you *an Ephraimite?* Is. 40. 7 אָכֵן חָצִיר הָעָם surely the people are *grass*. Pr. 28. 11 חָכָם בְּעֵינָיו אִישׁ עָשִׁיר a (the) rich man is *wise* in his own eyes. Ecc. 7. 3 טוֹב כַּעַס מִשְּׂחוֹק sorrow is *better than laughter*. Gen. 2. 18; 42. 11; 47. 13; 49. 9, Ex. 34. 14, Lev. 2. 6; 3. 12, Nu. 13. 19, Deu. 1. 14; 4. 6, 21, Is. 6. 5; 40. 28, Jer. 2. 12, Zeph. 1. 14, Ps. 11. 7; 25. 8, 16; 103. 8; 119. 105, 129, 137, etc. With extraposition and resumption, Nu. 1. 4 אִישׁ רֹאשׁ לְבֵית־אֲבֹתָיו הוּא each (shall be) *head* of his fathers' house, Deu.

32. 4 הַצּוּר תָּמִים פָּעֳלוֹ the Rock, his work is *perfect.* Gen. 34. 21; 49. 20, Lev. 15. 2, 20, Nu. 14. 7, Deu. 4. 24, Jer. 10. 3.

An indef. pred. may include some suffixed nouns and structurally def. constr. phrases, notably where a class or generic noun is involved. Lev. 4. 21 חַטַּאת הַקָּהָל הוּא it is *a sin-offering of the assembly.* Jud. 9. 3 בְּן־חֲכָמִים אֲנִי בֶּן־מַלְכֵי־ אָחִינוּ הוּא he is *a brother of ours.* Is. 19. 11 קֶדֶם I am *a son of wise men, a son of ancient kings.* Ps. 2. 7 בְּנִי אַתָּה you are *my son* (*a son to me*). Other exx. § 3, R. 1; § 29, R. 2. Gen. 29. 12, Deu. 23. 8.

(*c*) There are a number of syntactic structures which override these patterns. Thus a nominal circumstantial clause like all circumstantial clauses has the subj. first, leading to an order contrary to *b* when it is classifying. Gen. 13. 2 וְאַבְרָם כָּבֵד מְאֹד now A. was *very rich.* 14. 18 וְהוּא כֹהֵן לְאֵל עֶלְיוֹן and he was *a priest* of El Elyon. 29. 17 וְעֵינֵי לֵאָה now L.'s eyes were *weak.* Gen. 2. 12; 29. 31, Ex. 14. 22; 17. 12, etc. So in the case of a well-formed conjunctive or contrastive sent. in which the subj. comes first in both clauses; this kind of sent. is common in poetry. Ps. 19. 8-10 תּוֹרַת יְ׳ תְּמִימָה the law of Y. is *perfect,* etc. Pr. 15. 8 זֶבַח רְשָׁעִים תּוֹעֲבַת יְ׳ וּתְפִלַּת יְשָׁרִים רְצוֹנוֹ the sacrifice of the wicked is *an abomination to Y.,* while (but) the prayer of the righteous is *his delight.* Ex. 15. 6, Is. 1. 23; 5. 28, Jer. 5. 16, Pr. 15. 19, Job 3. 19, etc.

In the second half of a chiastic sent. either the pattern in *a* or that in *b* may be overridden. Job 4. 6 (*Qere*) הֲלֹא יִרְאָתְךָ כִסְלָתֶךָ וְתִקְוָתְךָ תֹּם דְּרָכֶיךָ is not *your fear* (of God) your confidence, and *the integrity of your ways* your hope? Pr. 20. 23 *an abomination to Y.* are diverse weights וּמֹאזְנֵי מִרְמָה לֹא־טוֹב and false scales are *not good.* 1 S. 17. 33, Is. 5. 7; 48. 4; 55. 8, Nah. 1. 3, Pr. 3. 18; 6. 23; 9. 10; 20. 23.

(*d*) Pattern *b* is also suspended when the subj. contains כֹּל *all, every;* this nearly always comes first, in classifying as in identifying clauses. Gen. 6. 5 וְכָל־יֵצֶר מַחְשְׁבֹת לִבּוֹ רַק רַע כָּל־הַיּוֹם and (that) every inclination of the thoughts of his heart was only *evil* continually (contrast the previous clause). Is. 40. 6 כָּל־הַבָּשָׂר חָצִיר all flesh is *grass* (contrast *vs.* 7). Ex. 27. 17, Is. 1. 5, Ps. 96. 5; 119. 86, 151, Pr. 16. 2; 21. 2, Ecc. 1. 8; 2. 17. However, when the phrase with כֹּל is extraposed, normal order obtains with the resumptive pron., Gen. 42. 11.

Pattern *b* seems to be further disrupted when the pred. is a participle

with verbal force; this generally follows its subj. Clearly its ability to take an obj. marks it off from, e.g. an adjective, and for that reason it may have been judged unsuitable to take part in the distinction between identifying and classifying. For exx. see § 113*b*. However, a ptcp. may have nominal force and as such occur in normal initial position as pred. of a classifying clause. Gen. 42. 9 מְרַגְּלִים אַתֶּם you are *spies; vs.* 34. Jud. 15. 11 כִּי־מֹשְׁלִים בָּנוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים that the Ph. are *rulers* over us. Possibly 1 S. 3. 13 (*blasphemers*), though the text is suspicious. In constr. phrase, Gen. 22. 12, Pr. 14. 2 (*fearer of God, Y.*).

(*e*) No preferred sequence is evident when pred. is a numeral or adverb (properly "adnominal") or prep. phrase. Compare Ex. 27. 12 with Gen. 6. 15; 1 S. 19. 3 with Gen. 2. 12; Nu. 2. 17 with 16. 3. However, partitive phrases with מִן always precede the subj., Ex. 2. 6 מִיַּלְדֵי הָעִבְרִים זֶה this is *one of the Hebrews' children.*

Rem. 1. Mediaeval Arab grammarians distinguished as verbal, clauses beginning with a verb and as nominal, those which, whether or not they contained a verb, began with a noun; and some scholars interested in syntax above the sentence have adopted this distinction in their treatment of Hebr. usage. There is much to be said for it. A verbal clause emphasizes what is being done, a "nominal" clause of either kind who or what is involved in the action; and such clauses may have different roles in an extended text, as most clearly in prose narrative (see § 58*b*) where clauses beginning with *Vav* cons. YIQTOL carry the story line and clauses beginning with a noun introduce a new participant, draw attention to a circumstance affecting a person, place, object, etc. But at the level of the clause itself the distinction is not so useful; there relationships between noun and noun and noun and verb have to be analysed, and "nominal" clauses with a verb have perforce to be treated separately from those which, as in this sect., lack a verb.

Rem. 2. Interr. and precative nominal clauses have their own peculiarities. In interr. nominal clauses מִי and מָה are pred., as is made clear where a reply is given; yet they always occupy initial position, though in the answering clauses the corresponding pred. has the position proper to an identifying or classifying clause. For question with identifying answer cf. Gen. 27. 32, Zech. 2. 2 and for question with classifying answer cf. Gen. 47. 3; 48. 8-9. (After interr. הֲ normal word order is maintained, cf. Jud. 12. 5 in *b* above).

In prec. clauses the sequence is the opposite of the sequence in corresponding declarative clauses. Thus in the verbal kind with a ptcp., the ptcp. as pred. comes first (cf. בָּרוּךְ *blessed be* in Gen. 14. 19, Deu. 28. 3; אָרוּר

cursed be in Gen. 3. 14; 9. 25), while in a prec. nominal clause proper, which is usually classifying, it is the subj. noun which comes first (cf. Deu. 33. 22 in contrast with Gen. 49. 9; the former context is of blessing, the latter of prophecy).

Rem. 3. In a number of cases a proper name seems to be pred., as in an identifying clause with subj. containing שֵׁם *name;* the name is in effect the information supplied. Gen. 11. 29 שֵׁם אֵשֶׁת־אַבְרָם שָׂרָי the name of A.'s wife was *S.* 2. 11, 13, 14, 1 S. 1. 1-2, Ru. 1. 2-4, etc. So in a classifying clause in a contrastive sentence, Ex. 9. 27 יְ׳ הַצַּדִּיק the one in the right is *Y.* (cf. the next clause).

Probably יהוה is pred. in Deu. 6. 4, Is. 33. 22 (our God, judge, etc. is *Y.*), though the sequence is the opposite of what is expected in an identifying clause. The second part of Deu. 6. 4 may be a classifying clause (Y. is *one*); if it is, the sequence is acceptable, אֶחָד being a numeral, but as in the first part the sequence may be abnormal if Gen. 41. 25 is taken as a parallel. Other more certain cases of abnormal order involving יהוה are Ex. 15. 3 (first clause; Y. is *a man of war*) and Nu. 14. 18, Nah. 1. 3 (Y. is *slow to anger*) (contrast Ex. 34. 6, Ps. 103. 8, etc.); and, with שִׁמְךָ *your name* in second place, Ex. 15. 3 (second clause), Am. 4. 13; 9. 6, etc. It is significant that all of these utterances either reflect or may be assumed to derive from liturgical usage, and this may be the reason for the changed word order. A fuller syntactical examination of liturgical language is clearly called for.

However it is interpreted, Deu. 6. 4 poses difficulties. The traditional rendering *The Lord our God is one Lord* is put into question if it is translated more literally, *Y. our God is one Y* (unless it is Y. who dwells in the Temple over against, e.g. *Y. of Samaria* in the Kuntillet el-Ajrud inscrs.). The second part, taken (see above) as an independent clause, may be thought to show too theoretical an interest in monotheism for early OT times. My own preference is for taking it as an appos. phrase, with אֶחָד having an "adnominal" function similar to לְבַדּוֹ *only, alone* elsewhere (2 K. 19. 15, Is. 37. 16, Neh. 9. 6; cf. Matt. 4. 10, citing Deu. 6. 13). This is an unparalleled usage, but it at least emphasizes Y.'s exclusive right to Israel's allegiance, a matter more relevant to OT thought than his oneness: *Our God is Y., Y. alone.*

Rem. 4. The normal negative in nomin. clauses is לֹא, placed first in the clause, Ex. 4. 10 לֹא אִישׁ דְּבָרִים אָנֹכִי I am *not* an eloquent man. Gen. 37. 13, Ex. 14. 12, Deu. 22. 2, 1 S. 2. 24.

§ 50. *Subject Complements.* When the verb הָיָה is used the nominal part of the pred. may be called the subj. complement. Thus when הָיָה is used statively, Gen. 42. 11 לֹא־הָיוּ עֲבָדֶיךָ מְרַגְּלִים your servants are not *spies.* In past narrative, 3. 1 וְהַנָּחָשׁ הָיָה עָרוּם now the serpent was *cunning.* As an indicative future, 9. 25 עֶבֶד עֲבָדִים יִהְיֶה *a slave of slaves*

shall he be. As a juss., 1. 3 יְהִי אוֹר let there be *light.*

In other verbal clauses what would in a nominal clause be the pred. may serve as a complement qualifying either the subj. or the obj. For this "adnominal" usage along with an obj. (e.g. Gen. 3. 8) see § 92. Exx. of subject complement, Gen. 15. 2 וְאָנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ עֲרִירִי seeing I go *childless;* 38. 11 שְׁבִי אַלְמָנָה remain *a widow;* Ru. 1. 21 אֲנִי מְלֵאָה הָלַכְתִּי I went (away) *full* (note obj. complement in next clause). Gen. 25. 8, 25; 37. 35, Deu. 3. 18, Jos. 1. 14, 1 S. 19. 20, 1 K. 22. 10, 2 K. 18. 37, Am. 2. 14, Jer. 31. 8, Job 1. 21; 24. 5, 10; 27. 19, Ps. 109. 7. Possibly Job 19. 25 stand (as) *last.* Obj. complements become subj. complements when the verb is passive. Deu. 4. 27 וְנִשְׁאַרְתֶּם מְתֵי מִסְפָּר and you shall be left *few in number.* 24. 7 כִּי יִמָּצֵא אִישׁ גֹּנֵב if a man is found *stealing.* Pr. 17. 28 even a fool who keeps silent חָכָם יֵחָשֵׁב is considered *wise.* Gen. 31. 15, Ex. 22. 3, Deu. 21. 1; 22. 22, Jer. 33. 11, Pr. 27. 14, Est. 6. 2, Dan. 1. 15, Ezr. 9. 15.

§ 51. *Subject clauses.* Clauses may replace nouns. Relative clauses (with or without אֲשֶׁר) are strictly speaking in appos. to their antecedent; or they may form with it a constr. relation; or they may contain the antecedent (*he who, that which,* etc.) and be themselves the subj. or obj. of another clause or follow a prep. See further § 9-13. Clauses beginning with כִּי or אֲשֶׁר *that* are similarly nominal in function. They are common as the obj. of verbs of saying, seeing, remembering, etc. (see § 90), less common as the subj. of a nominal clause. With pred. *good, better,* Lam. 3. 27 טוֹב לַגֶּבֶר כִּי יִשָּׂא עֹל בְּנְעוּרָיו it is good for a man *that he bear the yoke in his youth,* 2 S. 18. 3, Ecc. 5. 4. As pred., Gen. 6. 15 זֶה אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשֶׂה אוֹתָהּ this is *how you are to make it.* As subj. of passive verb, 1 S. 23. 13. So, with ellipsis, in cases like אַף כִּי, *furthermore* (it is a fact) *that, so much the more* (*less*), etc.; see § 116*c* and under Inclusive Clauses.

Quasi-Verbal Nominal Clauses

§ 52. Clauses with the construct nouns יֵשׁ, אֵין and עוֹד and with the demons. particle הִנֵּה are basically nominal in their structure, but show some features which may almost be described as verbal.

יֵשׁ and אֵין form a constr. relation with a following noun and are used either, as in a straightforward nomin. clause, as subj. to a non-verbal or

participial pred. or absolutely in the sense *there is, is not.* When a suffix is attached, however, it takes the form used with verbs as though regarded almost as an obj. (see § 3, R. 2); and both words may be separated from their nouns and so become equivalent almost to a verb. The time reference, as in normal nomin. clauses, is taken from the context. Clauses with יֵשׁ or אֵין differ from these in being concerned not so much to identify or classify the subj. as to assert or deny its existence, presence, relevance, etc.

Thus with pred. following, Gen. 28. 16 אָכֵן יֵשׁ יְ֭ בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה surely Y. *is* in this place. 43. 4; 44. 26. Gen. 20. 11 רַק אֵין־יִרְאַת אֱ֭ בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה only *there is no* fear of God in this place. 37. 29 אֵין־יוֹסֵף בַּבּוֹר Jos. *was not* in the pit. 39. 11; 41. 8, Nu. 14. 42, Jud. 21. 25. When a pers. pron. is subj., it appears as suffix; a following verb is usually ptcp., Gen. 24. 42 אִם־יֶשְׁךָ־נָא מַצְלִיחַ דַּרְכִּי if now *you will* prosper my way; Jud. 6. 36. Ex. 5. 10 אֵינֶנִּי נֹתֵן לָכֶם תֶּבֶן *I will not* give you straw; 2 K. 17. 26 יֹדְעִים אֵינָם *they do not* know. Gen. 20. 7; 31. 2; 39. 9, Jud. 3. 25, Jer. 14. 12.

Used absolutely, Gen. 18. 24 אוּלַי יֵשׁ חֲמִשִּׁים צַדִּיקִם perhaps *there are* fifty righteous people. 42. 1, 2 S. 9. 1, 1 K. 8. 10, Is. 44. 8, Ru. 3. 12. Common in aphorisms, Ecc. 6. 1 יֵשׁ רָעָה *there is* an evil which I have seen. Pr. 11. 24; 12. 18; 13. 7, 23; 14. 12, Ecc. 2. 21; 4. 8; 7. 15. יֵשׁ לְ *to have,* Gen. 33. 9, 1 S. 17. 46, Job 14. 7. Ex. 2. 12 and he saw that אֵין אִישׁ *there was no-one;* Gen. 2. 5 וְאָדָם אַיִן and *there was no one* to till (in appos.). Gen. 42. 13, Nu. 21. 5, 1 K. 20. 40, 2 K. 19. 3. אֵין לְ, Gen. 11. 30, Nu. 27. 9, Deu. 22. 27, Lam. 1. 2.

Detached, in any position in the clause. Gen. 43. 7 הֲיֵשׁ לָכֶם אָח do *you have* a brother?; 1 S. 21. 5 כִּי־אִם־לֶחֶם קֹדֶשׁ יֵשׁ but *there is* holy bread. 20. 8. Gen. 40. 8 וּפֹתֵר אֵין אֹותוֹ and *there is no* interpreter of it. 37. 24; 47. 13, Jer. 8. 22; 30. 13, Mic. 7. 2 וְיָשָׁר בָּאָדָם אָיִן and one upright among men *there is not.*

Rem. 1. On the use of יֵשׁ and אֵין as gerundives followed by לְ with infin., *is (not) to be, must (not) be done,* see § 108. On בְּאֵין *for want of, without,* מֵאֵין *from lack of, without* see Lex.

§ 53. עוֹד is, like יֵשׁ and אֵין, properly a noun in the constr. state, though it is in Engl. usually translated adverbially. It can be used to qualify a nominal phrase, or be attached to the subj. of a nomin. clause,

or operate independently along with a verb as in effect an adverb. It usually, but not always, takes verbal suffixes. It expresses variously the ideas of continuance (*still*), of addition (*yet, more*), of repetition (*again*), even of exclusion (*besides*).

Continuance: Gen. 18. 22 וְאַבְרָהָם עוֹדֶנּוּ עֹמֵד and Abr. was *still* standing. 29. 7; 43. 7; 44. 14, Ex. 4.18, Nu. 9. 13, Jud. 8. 20, 1 S. 13. 7, 1 K. 22. 46, Is. 5. 25. Addition: Gen. 7. 4 לְיָמִים עוֹד שִׁבְעָה after *yet* seven days; Ex. 2. 3 וְלֹא־יָכְלָה עוֹד הַצְּפִינוֹ and (when) she could *no longer* hide him; 17. 4 עוֹד מְעַט *yet a little while.* Gen. 8. 22, Is. 10. 25; 49. 20, Jer. 10. 20, Ps. 42. 6, Ru. 1. 14. Repetition: Gen. 4. 25 וַיֵּדַע אָדָם עוֹד and Adam *again* knew his wife. 18. 29; 24. 20, Ex. 3. 15, Deu. 13. 17, Jer. 32. 15. Exclusion: Deu. 4. 39 אֵין עוֹד there is none *besides.* 1 S. 16. 11, 2 K. 4. 6, Is. 45. 5; 47. 8, Ecc. 12. 9.

Rem. 1. עוֹד may take the prepp. בְּ and מִן. Gen. 25. 6 בְּעוֹדֶנּוּ חַי *while* he was *yet* alive; 40. 13 בְּעוֹד שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים *within* three days. With nomin. suff., Ps. 104. 33 בְּעוֹדִי *as long as* I live; Gen. 48. 15 מֵעוֹדִי *ever since I was,* i.e. all my life. § 3, R. 2.

§ 54. הִנֵּה (shortened form הֵן) has both demonstr. and exclamatory force. Its quasi-imper. function is recognised by the Engl. transl. *behold* (and this may explain its partial use of verbal suffixes); but properly it is not inviting someone to look so much as drawing attention to the presence of a person or object. With only a suff. attached it is used as in effect an exclamation; thus הִנֵּנִי (Gen. 22. 1) means *here I am!* and not *look at me;* Rem. 1. It is also an exclamation when on its own it introduces a clause beginning with a verb, calling attention to a whole situation rather than a single person or thing; Rem. 2. But its most characteristic use is, with following noun or suffix, to focus attention on the subj. of a nominal or participial clause as he or it has been or is or is about to become involved in some situation or action. In all its usages there is a strong nuance of immediacy or surprise or at any rate of importance or significance.

Thus in pres. contexts, Gen. 20. 3 הִנְּךָ מֵת *behold, you* are a dead man; 27. 11 הֵן עֵשָׂו אָחִי אִישׁ שָׂעִיר *behold, my brother E.* is a hairy man. Deu. 1. 10, Ps. 139. 8, Job 2. 6. Sometimes the indep. pron. is used, Gen. 24. 13 הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי נִצָּב *behold, I* am standing. Ru. 3. 2. And sometimes הִנֵּה

is used on its own, the pron. being understood, Gen. 18. 9 הִנֵּה בְאֹהֶל *behold* (she) is in the tent.

In past contexts, Ex. 2. 6 וְהִנֵּה־נַעַר בֹּכֶה and *behold, the child* was weeping. Gen. 15. 12; 18. 2, Deu. 9. 13, Jud. 9. 43. In dream reports, Gen. 40. 9; 41. 3, Jer. 18. 3. A subj. suff. is often understood, Gen. 24. 30; 37. 15, 1 K. 19. 5.

In fut. contexts, Is. 7. 14 הִנֵּה הָעַלְמָה הָרָה וְיֹלֶדֶת *behold, a young woman* shall conceive and bear a son; Am. 4. 2 הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים *behold, days* are coming. Ex. 4. 23; 32. 34, Is. 13. 17; 43. 19, Jer. 11. 22.

Rem. 1. Exx. of exclamatory phrases: Gen. 12. 19; 27. 1, Ex. 24. 8, Nu. 14. 40, 1 S. 3. 4, 2 S. 15. 26, Job 38. 35. הֵן is not used with suffixes:

Rem. 2. הִנֵּה and הֵן often introduce a circumstance or action in past or present, on which a request, proposal, intention, course of action, conclusion etc. is founded. Before a noun or suff. they are still focussing attention on a person or thing and therefore functioning nominally. Is. 6. 8 הִנֵּנִי שְׁלָחֵנִי *here am I,* send me; Ex. 6. 30 הֵן אֲנִי עֲרַל שְׂפָתַיִם *behold, I* am of uncirumcised lips; how then, etc.? Gen. 11. 6; 29. 11, Ex. 1. 9, Nu. 23. 9, 24, 1 K. 22. 13, Is. 50. 11, Job 25. 5. Presumably this is also the case when the subj. comes first in a verbal clause, Gen. 3. 22 הֵן הָאָדָם הָיָה *behold, the man* has become like one of us, and now, lest, etc. Ex. 6. 12, Is. 40. 15. But when הִנֵּה or הֵן precede a verb (or an adverbial phrase followed by a verb), they emphasize the whole clause and are simply exclamatory. 2 K. 5. 20 הִנֵּה חָשַׂךְ אֲדֹנִי *see,* my master has spared this N. the Syrian ... I will run after him. Gen. 15. 3; 19. 34, Nu. 17. 27, Is. 42. 9; 50. 1, Job 9. 11-12 (YIQTOL). (On other occasions, of course, הִנֵּה or הֵן with a verb simply introduce an announcement; with performative QATAL, Gen. 1. 29; 17. 20; with YIQTOL, Is. 41. 11; 50. 2, Ps. 68. 34).

Rem. 3. On הִנֵּה as a syntactic marker in extended discourse or narrative see § 72, R. 4, § 80.

Syntax of the Verb and its Object

The Conjugations

§ 55. The two verbal conjugations of Hebr., traditionally called perfect and imperfect but in this volume identified simply by QATAL and YIQTOL, mark distinctions of *aspect*, not of tense. They do not locate a situation or event *in* time, but view it in its relation *to* time. Thus QATAL (the perf.) identifies a situation or event as static or at rest, YIQTOL (the impf.) as fluid or in motion. It is left to the context to indicate by various means, e.g. an adverb of time, whether the situation or event is past, present or future. The expression of mood as distinct from aspect comes within the sphere of YIQTOL, sometimes involving modified forms (cohortative, jussive, imperative). There is also in each conjugation a special form used with *Vav* to express a succession of situations or events *over* time (the so-called conversive or consecutive constructions).

Rem. 1. The distinction being advanced here is in essence one between states and actions. This is a broader distinction than that between perfect and imperfect or, as linguists prefer to say nowadays, perfective and imperfective. It also cuts across that distinction, since sometimes states may be imperfective and actions perfective. Patently, therefore, the terms perfect and imperfect ought to be abandoned as misleading.

Rem. 2. The Engl. verbal system is very different from the Hebr. and it is always necessary to remember that translations are only approximations. Thus Engl. possesses, like Hebr., aspect and mood but, unlike Hebr., it also possesses tense (*come, came*); and indeed it cannot express aspect and mood without bringing in tense as well (*have, had come; is, was coming; may, might come*, etc.). In all translations into Engl. there are therefore bound to be indications of tense present which do not belong to the Hebr. verbal forms but are taken over by the translator from their context.

The QATAL Conjugation

§ 56. QATAL denotes states, whether natural or arising from some action; and it denotes actions which are in effect treated as states since they occur in contexts that are static and independent (non-contingent).

§ 57. In the present time frame characteristic of prose discourse and poetry QATAL is used -

(*a*) As a stative category in the strict sense to describe a physical or mental condition, as *to be, be like, be clothed with, be full of, be high, great, small, deep, clean, be young, old, be many,* etc.; *to know, remember, refuse, trust, rejoice, hate, love, desire, hope, be angry, just, good,* etc. As in other languages, some stative verbs may take an object, direct or otherwise.

Exx., Gen. 4. 6 לָמָּה חָרָה לָךְ why *are you angry* (lit. *is it hot* to you)? 27. 2 זָקַנְתִּי לֹא יָדַעְתִּי יוֹם מוֹתִי *I am old, I do not know* the day of my death. Jud. 14. 16 רַק שִׂנֵאתַנִי וְלֹא אֲהַבְתָּנִי *you only hate me, and do not love me.* Ps. 3. 2 מָה־רַבּוּ צָרָי *how many are* my foes! 104.1 גָּדַלְתָּ מְאֹד *you are* very *great.* Is. 1. 15 יְדֵיכֶם דָּמִים מָלֵאוּ your hands *are full of* blood. Rem. 1.

(*b*) Chiefly in the 1st pers., to describe the formal execution or performance of a number of actions involving blessing, swearing, worshipping, promising, bargaining or the like; the speaker is in effect viewed as in the state of doing the action. Deu. 26. 3 הִגַּדְתִּי הַיּוֹם *I profess* this day; 2 S. 17. 11 כִּי יָעַצְתִּי but *my counsel is.* 19. 8 בַּיהוה נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I swear* by the Lord. 24. 23 הַכֹּל נָתַן אַרַוְנָה all (this) A. *gives* to the king. 2 K. 9. 3 מְשַׁחְתִּיךָ לְמֶלֶךְ *I anoint you* king. Is. 42. 1 נָתַתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו *I (will) put* my spirit upon him. Ps. 2. 7 הַיּוֹם יְלִדְתִּיךָ this day *I beget you.* 129. 8 בֵּרַכְנוּ אֶתְכֶם *we bless you.* Gen. 9. 13; 14. 22; 15. 18; 22. 16; 23. 11, 13, Nu. 14. 20, Deu. 4. 26; 30. 15, 18, 19, 1 S. 17. 10, 2 S. 16. 4; 19. 30, 1 K. 2. 42; 3. 13, Is. 43. 3, Jer. 22. 5; 42. 19, Ez. 36. 7, Ps. 130. 1, Job 7. 16, Song 2. 7.

In a report, Ru. 4. 3 מָכְרָה נָעֳמִי N. *is selling* (it). In a letter ("epistolary perf."), 1 K. 15. 19 הִנֵּה שָׁלַחְתִּי לְךָ see, *I am sending* you. 2 K. 5. 6, 2 Chr. 2. 2.

(*c*) Largely in poetry, to describe a number of actions which are tantamount to states in that they occur in non-specific, i.e. typical or recurrent situations. Such QATALs often accompany stative QATALs (*a*

above), and are often interspersed among YIQTOLs and ptcps. which also in the context express present meaning. Ps. 1. 1, 2 blessed is the man who *does not walk* (לֹא הָלַךְ) ... *does not stand* (לֹא עָמַד) ... *does not sit* (לֹא יָשַׁב), but ... on his law *he meditates* (יֶהְגֶּה) day and night. 2. 1 why do the nations *rage* (רָגְשׁוּ) and the peoples *plot* (יֶהְגּוּ) in vain? 84. 4 גַּם־צִפּוֹר מָצְאָה even the sparrow *finds* a house. Jer. 8. 7 even the stork in the heavens *knows* (יָדְעָה) her times, and the turtledove etc. *keep* (שָׁמְרוּ) the time of their coming. Job 7. 9 כָּלָה עָנָן (as) the cloud *fades*. Ps. 10. 3, 13, 14; 14. 2-3; 33. 10; 37. 14; 40. 5; 46. 7; 65. 10, 12; 90. 5-9; 97. 6-9; 103. 10-13; 111. 4-5, Pr. 1. 7; 3. 13; 14. 19; 30. 15-16, 20; 31. 13ff., Job 3. 17-18; 6. 19-21; 14. 11-12; 24. 10; 28. 3-11, Is. 40. 7-8; 57. 1, Jer. 14. 2-6.

(*d*) Very commonly in a role similar to that of the Engl. present perf., to express the idea of a person having previously done some action or, to put it more broadly, to denote a present state flowing from a past action. Sometimes Engl. prefers to translate with a past tense, emphasizing the pastness of the action rather than its effect; but this is not a Hebr. usage. Gen. 3. 11 מִי הִגִּיד לְךָ *who* (*has*) *told* you? 4. 6 לָמָּה נָפְלוּ פָנֶיךָ why *has* (*is*) your face *fallen?* 18. 15 לֹא צָחַקְתִּי *I did not laugh.* Is. 1. 4 עָזְבוּ אֶת־יְ *they have forsaken* Y. 40. 21 ... הֲלֹא הֻגַּד הֲבִינוֹתֶם *has it not been told ... have you not understood?* Job 1. 20 naked *I came forth* (יָצָתִי) ... Y. *gave* (נָתַן) and Y. *has taken away* (לָקַח). Gen. 4. 10; 12. 18; 26. 22; 46. 31, Ex. 5. 14, Nu. 22. 34, Jud. 10. 10; 11. 7, 1 S. 12. 3; 14. 29, Is. 14. 5; 23. 8-9; 49. 14, Jer. 12. 7; 20. 7. In subord. clauses, Gen. 3. 12 הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה the woman whom *you gave.* 3. 14 כִּי עָשִׂית because *you have done* this. 22. 12 וְלֹא חָשַׂכְתָּ seeing *you have not withheld* your son. 1 S. 12. 5 Y. is witness ... כִּי לֹא מְצָאתֶם that *you have not found* anything in my hand. Is. 14. 24 וְכַאֲשֶׁר יָעַצְתִּי and (that) as *I have counselled,* it shall stand. Gen. 6. 7; 37. 6; 45. 4; 48. 9, Is. 8. 5; 31. 6; 44. 1, Jer. 9. 21; 20. 17, Dan. 10. 12, Neh. 5. 19. Impersonal use, Jud. 19. 30 לֹא־נִהְיְתָה וְלֹא־נִרְאֲתָה such a thing *has never happened* or *been seen.* Ecc. 1. 9.

In some passages in poetry Engl. may translate this QATAL with a present tense, implying that the state-cum-action is still going on. This is in fact a common enough implication of the usage as a whole, cf. above Is. 1. 4; 40. 21, etc. In the passages we are concerned with the implication is given expression in Engl. because the QATAL (like that in *c*) often

dovetails with stative QATALs and with present YIQTOLs. Cf. Ps. 102 where a series of such QATALs in *vss.* 9-10 is preceded in *vss.* 6-8 by a series of statives; and note particularly כָּל־הַיּוֹם (*vs.* 9). Ps. 22. 13 many bulls *surround me* (סְבָבוּנִי) ... *encircle me* (כִּתְּרוּנִי). 26. 4-5 *I do not sit* (יָשַׁבְתִּי) ... *I do not go* (אָבוֹא) ... *I hate* (שָׂנֵאתִי) ... *I do not dwell* (אֶשֵּׁב). 17. 10-11; 40. 5; 74. 1; 88. 17-19; 109. 2-3; 139. 1-6, Job 3. 25-26; 9. 25-26.

Rem. 1. Exx.of stative QATAL. אבה *be willing*, Deu. 25. 7; אבל *mourn*, Is. 33. 9, Joel 1. 19; אהב *love*, Gen. 22. 2; 27. 4, 9; בטח *trust*, 2 K. 18. 19, 20, Ps. 13. 6; 25. 2; 31. 7; גבה *be high*, Is. 3. 16; 55. 9, Job 25. 5; גדל *be great*, Gen. 19. 13, Ps. 92. 6; 104. 1; דמה *be like*, Is. 1. 19, Ez. 31. 2, 18, Ps. 102. 7; 144. 4, Song 7. 8; היה *be*, Gen. 26. 28; 42. 11, 31; 46. 32, 34, Nu. 19. 18; זקן *be old*, Gen 18. 13; 27. 2, Ru. 1. 12; חסה *take refuge*, Ps. 7. 2; 11. 1; 16. 1; 31. 2; חפץ *be pleased, wish*, Deu. 25. 8, Is. 1. 11, Ps. 40. 9; חרה ל *be angry*, Gen. 4. 6, Jon. 4. 4, 9; טוב *be good*, Nu. 24. 5; טהר *be clean*, Pr. 20. 9; יגע *be tired*, Ps. 6. 7; ידע *know, passim;* יפה *be fair*, Song 7. 2; יחל Hiph. *hope*, Ps. 130. 5; לבש *be clothed with*, Ps. 104. 1; מאן Pi. *refuse*, Ex. 7. 14, Nu. 22. 13, Deu. 25. 7; מאס *despise*, Am. 5. 21, Job 7. 16; מלא *be full of*, Gen. 29. 21, Is. 1. 15; 2. 6, Ps. 104. 24, Pr. 12. 21, Mic. 3. 8; מלך *be king, reign*, 1 S. 12. 14, 1 K. 1. 13, 18, Ps. 47. 9; נאוה *be beautiful*, Is. 52. 7; נקה Niph. *be blameless*, Jud. 15. 3; עלץ *exult*, 1 S. 2. 1; עמק *be deep*, Ps. 92. 6; עצם *be strong, numerous*, Gen. 26. 16, Jer. 5. 6; קוה Pi. *hope*, Gen. 49. 18, Ps. 130. 5; קטן *be small*, Gen. 32. 10; קלל *be light, unimportant, swift*, Jer. 4. 13, Job 7. 6; 40. 4, Niph. 2. K. 20. 10, Is. 49. 6; רבב *be great, many*, Gen. 18. 26, 1 S. 25. 10, Jer. 5. 6, Ps. 3. 2; 104. 4; רום *be high*, 1 S. 2. 1; שׂבע *be sated with*, Is. 1. 11; שׂמח *rejoice*, 1 S. 2. 1, Ps. 16. 9; 122. 1, Is. 9. 2; שׂנא *hate*, Gen. 26. 27, Am. 5. 21, Ps. 5. 6; 31. 7; תאב *long for*, Ps. 119. 40.

Rem. 2. In past contexts, narrative as well as spoken, a stative QATAL tends to adopt the nuance of entering upon the state, Gen. 3. 22 the man *has become* like one of us; 24. 1 Abr. *had become old;* 34. 19 because he *had found delight*, 2 K. 8. 25 Ahaziah *became king*. So in form of VAYYIQTOL, Gen. 21. 8 and the child *grew* (*became great*). In the YIQTOL conjugation the stative verbs naturally take on the various meanings of that conjugation. The stative usages of the verbs in *b* and *c* are of course occasional and do not occur outside the contexts indicated.

Rem. 3. The common phrase כֹּה אָמַר י׳ (Jer. 7. 3, Ez. 2. 4, etc.), though usually translated by Engl. present tense, is prob. not a present stative usage as in *b, c,* but reflects the prophetic consciousness of having received a message from Y.; it belongs under *d, thus Y. has said.* In the alternative יֹאמַר י׳ (Is. 1. 11, etc.), which always occurs in parenthesis, the emphasis is on the content of the message as it is being delivered. On the other hand, the

phrase יְיָ מָלָךְ (Ps. 93. 1; 96. 10, etc.) is most naturally taken as a stative usage, *Y. is king;* it is dubiously rendered *Y. has become king* (sc. as of now in the liturgy). This use of the Engl. present perf. to describe an action that has *just* taken place is peculiar, and ought not to be transferred to the Hebr. QATAL. The usage belongs to *a* above, as Ps. 2. 7 (RSV wrongly, today *I have begotten* you) belongs to *b*.

Rem. 4. In those passages where QATALs and YIQTOLs or ptcps. seem in Engl. translation to be interchangeable, it should be remembered that it is the context not the verbal form that leads to the use of an Engl. present tense; the verbal forms in Hebr. are not interchangeable but have different aspectual nuances. The QATAL identifies different kinds of states, the YIQTOL and ptcp. different kinds of continuing action. It is even more confusing when Engl. translates some of the exx. under *d* by a past tense; by so doing it removes the QATAL in *d* from the present time frame which in Hebr. it shares with the QATALs in *a-c* and quite obscures, in a way that a rendering by an Engl. present tense does not, its essentially stative function. Incidentally, there is in poetry an overlap between the QATALs in *c* and those in *d*, and some usages in both paragraphs could be reassigned; it depends on how one judges what is general and what is specific.

§ 58. QATAL is used to denote states and actions regarded as states which are set by the context in the past.

(*a*) In non-narrative discourse and poety this QATAL is variously represented in Engl. The priority of one state of having done to another may be rendered by a pluperf., the Engl. form which has that precise function; but just as often a present perf. is used, relating both states to the present, or a past tense, signifying the past action and ignoring the ensuing state. Thus Is. 53. 6 all we like sheep תָּעִינוּ *have* (or *had*) gone astray; Job 42. 5 שָׁמַעְתִּי I *had* (or *have*) heard of you by the hearing of the ear, but now my eye רָאָתְךָ *has seen* (or *sees*) you; Gen. 3. 11 who *told* (or *has told,* הִגִּיד) you ... *have you eaten* (אָכָלְתָּ) of the tree which I *commanded* you (or *had commanded* you, צִוִּיתִיךָ) not to eat? None of these distinctions is of course carried by the Hebr. form and (where they are there) have to be picked up by the translator from the wider context.

(*b*) In formal prose narrative the past time frame comes with the genre. The stative character of QATAL is represented in Engl. by the pluperf. when the context has it describing an event or situation prior to the time of the narrative. But when it denotes an event or situation contemporary with the time of the narrative, Engl. does not distinguish

its similarly stative role from the very different role played by VAYYIQTOL, translating both by a simple past tense. QATAL is not in fact a true narrative form. It is not, as the oft quoted rule implies, an alternative to VAYYIQTOL used when due to the vagaries of word order another word or phrase happens to come between *Vav* and the verb. Rather, VAYYIQTOL carries forward the sequence of events while QATAL marks a pause in that sequence to enable a different kind of statement to be made; and the changed word order is an integral element of that different kind of statement.

The pause in the sequence of events may be small, as when a negative precedes QATAL, Gen. 31. 33 וְלֹא מָצָא but *he did not find* (them). Or much more significant as in the use of circumst. clauses (§ 135) which begin with the subj., usually with, sometimes without *Vav;* by their nature these clauses supply tangential or background information and thus enhance the stative role of QATAL, Gen. 20. 4 וַאֲבִימֶלֶךְ לֹא קָרַב now Abim. *had not approached* her; Job 1. 1 אִישׁ הָיָה *there was* a man. Gen. 3. 1; 26. 15; 31. 19, 34; 39. 1, 1 S. 9. 15; 25. 21, etc. Circumstantial clauses may also be employed to round off a story or episode, 2 S. 18. 17 וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל נָסוּ and all Israel *fled.* Jud. 4. 3. Or to reidentify a participant after an absence, 2 K. 9. 1 וֶאֱלִישָׁע הַנָּבִיא קָרָא then E. *summoned.* In each case a pause is felt, in the first following, in the second preceding the statement. But see § 137, R. 1. Other clauses beginning with the subj. or the obj. occur in constructions which have as their purpose the expression of non-sequential situations, either simultaneous or contrastive. Gen. 13. 12 אַבְרָם יָשַׁב ... וְלוֹט יָשַׁב A. *dwelt* in the land of Canaan, while (but) Lot *dwelt* among the cities of the valley. With chiasmus, 4. 4-5 וַיִּשַׁע י׳ אֶל־הֶבֶל ... וְאֶל־קַיִן ... לֹא שָׁעָה Y. had regard to Abel ... but to Cain ... *he had no regard.* 40. 21-22. See further § 138*ff.*

QATAL occasionally occurs first in a clause, but only if the clause is linked appositionally to the previous clause. Since apposition is a device of restatement or amplification (§ 146) there is normally no advance in the narrative. Gen. 21. 14 וַיִּתֵּן אֶל־הָגָר שָׂם עַל־שִׁכְמָהּ and he gave (it) to H., *he put* (*putting*) it upon her shoulder; 44. 4, 12; 48. 14, etc. With QATAL later in the clause 7. 20; 8. 19, etc.

Finally, QATAL is used in subord. clauses which have by nature the function of qualifying or giving a reason for a previous statement; the

narrative is again perceptibly halted. Gen. 2. 8 and he put there the man אֲשֶׁר יָצָר whom *he had formed;* 6. 6 and Y. saw כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת הָאָדָם that the evil of men *was great;* 28. 11 כִּי־בָא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ for the sun *had gone down.* 18. 8, 33; 19. 28, Nu. 22. 2, 1 S. 6. 19; 28. 20, 1 K. 11. 9, etc.

(*c*) Narrative stretches occur quite often within prose discourse and poetry; but these are reports or reminiscences rather than formal narrative, and do not always follow the conventions in *b*.

In discourse narrative passages are recognised by the use of VAYYIQTOL and they may as in formal narrative preface the sequence of VAYYIQTOLs with a statement of circumstance, Gen. 41. 9-10 אֶת־חֲטָאַי אֲנִי מַזְכִּיר הַיּוֹם פַּרְעֹה קָצַף ... וַיִּתֵּן אֹתִי I remember my faults today; Ph. *was angry* with his servants, and he put me in prison, etc. Deu. 1. 6. But just as often they begin abruptly with the story itself, and with QATAL in initial position. This is not a construction that is permitted in formal narrative but (see § 57*d*) it is found frequently enough in non-narrative contexts in discourse. The initial QATAL in narrative discourse is, it seems, still being related to the present of speaker and audience and still identifies a state of having done. Gen. 42. 30 דִּבֶּר הָאִישׁ ... אִתָּנוּ קָשׁוֹת וַיִּתֵּן the man ... *spoke* roughly to us, and gave us out to be spies. Jud. 11. 15, 2 S. 3. 23; 6. 12; 12. 27, etc. There is little obvious difference when the subject is highlighted and comes first, Gen. 44. 19 אֲדֹנִי שָׁאַל my lord *asked* his servants 42. 10; 47. 1, 2 K. 3. 7. § 137, R. 1.

(*d*) Narratives or episodes within them may in poetry also begin with QATAL, Ps. 107. 4 תָּעוּ בַּמִּדְבָּר *they* (*some*) *wandered* in the desert, cf. *vs.* 10; 106. 6. But there it is chiefly conformity to poetic parallelism that is required. The VAYYIQTOL so common in prose narrative is on the whole frugally used; usually the story has to proceed through a succession of discrete verses with within each verse an event described twice. QATALs can occur at the start of a verse, simply omitting *Vav* cons. (asyndeton), almost as though it were introducing a new episode, Ps. 68. 19 עָלִיתָ לַמָּרוֹם *you ascended* on high; 78. 13 בָּקַע יָם *he divided* the sea. Or they can occur at the start of a clause, being therefore in apposition with a previous clause and repeating or amplifying its meaning, Ps. 68. 19 שָׁבִיתָ שֶּׁבִי לָקַחְתָּ מַתָּנוֹת *you led* captives, *you took* gifts. Or they can occur anywhere within a clause and therefore be

regarded as contributing to what is, by the nature of parallelism, a static situation, Ps. 68. 19 (לָקָחְתָּ); 78. 25 לֶחֶם אַבִּרִים אָכַל the bread of angels each *ate*, cf. שָׁלַח; *vs.* 24 נָתַן. In other words, nothing in the use of QATAL in poetic narrative removes from it its essentially stative character. If difficulties arise from its collocation in such passages with the (short) YIQTOL with past meaning (§ 62; it is the same YIQTOL that appears in the *Vav* cons. construction), these are difficulties for the Engl. translator rather than the Hebr. audience. Engl. is forced to use a past tense for both and so obscures the aspectual patterning which a Hebr. ear would appreciate. The QATAL catches well the episodic and staccato feel of poetic narrative while, in the (relative) absence of a *Vav* cons. form, the (short) YIQTOL serves to supply it with movement. This patterning, differing from poem to poem, may be studied in Pss. 68, 78, 105, 106, 107 *passim*, etc.

Rem. 1. Asyndeton (simply dispensing with *Vav*) and apposition (properly repeating or amplifying the meaning) are not always easy to distinguish. See the discussion in §§ 146-8.

§ 59. QATAL is used to denote states and actions viewed as states, which the context sets in the future; these usages are naturally, like the present usages in §57, restricted to non-narrative discourse and poetry.

(*a*) In the sense of the Engl. future perf. (which Engl. in fact rarely uses) QATAL indicates that a situation or event, though fut., is prior to another fut. situation or event. Gen. 24. 19 I will draw for your camels also עַד אִם־כִּלּוּ לִשְׁתּוֹת until *they* (*shall*) *have done* drinking. 2 S. 5. 24 כִּי אָז יָצָא יי׳ for then Y. *has* (*will have*) *gone out* before you. Gen. 28. 15; 48. 6, 1 S. 1. 28, 2 K. 7. 3, Is. 4. 4; 6. 11; 16. 12, Jer. 8. 3, Mic. 5. 2, Ru. 2. 21.

(*b*) More directly related to the speaker's or poet's present, QATAL represents a fut. action not as an action but as a state of doing or having done.

This QATAL may occur in the protasis of a real condition, 2 S. 15. 33 אִם עָבַרְתָּ אִתִּי וְהָיִתָ עָלַי לְמַשָּׂא *if you go on with me*, you shall be a burden to me. Exx. § 121*b*. Or in questions expressing astonishment, incredulity on the like. Gen. 18. 12 after I have grown old הָיְתָה־לִּי עֶדְנָה *shall I have* pleasure? Jud. 9. 9 הֶחְדַלְתִּי אֶת־דִּשְׁנִי *shall I abandon*

my fatness? cf. vss. 11, 13. Gen. 21. 7, Nu. 23. 10, 23, 1 S. 26. 9, 2 K. 20. 9, Jer. 30. 21, Ez. 18. 19, Hab. 2. 18, Ps. 10. 13; 11. 3; 39. 8; 80. 5, Job 12. 9.

It is also found in straight prediction, occasionally in prose discourse but more frequently in poetry, notably prophetic poetry. This "prophetic perf." (as it is traditionally called) preserves its stative nature by being found on its own, or following כִּי or לָכֵן, or being suddenly interjected among fut. YIQTOLs and *Vav* cons. QATALs. Only a few passages are of any length. It may be regarded as injecting a note of permanency into the prediction. Gen. 30. 13 כִּי אִשְּׁרוּנִי בָנוֹת for the women *will call me happy*. Is. 5. 13 לָכֵן גָּלָה עַמִּי therefore my people *will go into exile*. 9. 1 the people that walk in darkness *will see* (רָאוּ) a great light ... on them *will* the light *shine* (נָגַהּ). *Vs.* 5 כִּי־יֶלֶד יֻלַּד־לָנוּ בֵּן נִתַּן־לָנוּ for a boy *will be born* to us, a son *will be given* to us. Nu. 24. 17, Jud. 15. 3, 2 K. 20. 9, Is. 2. 11; 5. 14; 9. 1-6; 11. 8, 9; 13. 9, 10; 14. 24; 28. 2; 35. 2, 6; 43. 14; 46. 13; 47. 9; 52. 15; 60. 4, Jer. 4. 29; 31. 5, 6, Hos. 4. 6; 5. 5; 10. 7, Ps. 6. 9, 10; 20. 7, 9; 22. 30; 37. 38; 85. 11, 12, Job 5. 20, 23.

Rem. 1. The term "prophetic perf." is simply descriptive, but not the terms "perf. of certainty" or "confidence". These terms presuppose the older view of QATAL as denoting completed action which is then due to the will or imagination of the speaker or poet exceptionally transferred to the future; but it is an ordinary QATAL and it is transferred to the fut. by the context in which it occurs. That the usage is considered unusual, however, is shown by the variations in the cons. forms which follow it in those passages where there is a continuation. It may either be followed by *Vav* cons. YIQTOL (Is. 5. 15; 9. 5, Ps. 22. 30) or *ad sensum* by *Vav* cons. QATAL (Is. 2. 11; 5. 14, Ps. 20. 9). See further § 74, R. 2.

§ 60. QATAL is by its stative character (being in a state of doing or having done) unsuitable for expressing mood or contingency, but it sometimes attracts such nuances from its context.

(*a*) So in the case of כִּי with QATAL following a question or a negative, 1 S. 17. 26 who is this uncircumcised Philistine כִּי חֵרֵף *that he should defy?* Gen. 40. 15 I have done nothing כִּי־שָׂמוּ אֹתִי *that they should put* me in a dungeon. Jud. 8. 6; 9. 28; 18. 23, etc. (In other passages there is not this nuance, Gen. 20. 9; 31. 36, etc.)

(*b*) So in condit. sent. where QATAL may occur in either protasis or (as *Vav* cons.) apodosis, it is the particles אִם and לוּ which impart

respectively real and unreal (irreal) mood. 2 K. 7. 4 ... אִם־אָמַרְנוּ נָבוֹא וָמָתְנוּ וְאִם־יָשַׁבְנוּ פֹּה וָמָתְנוּ if *we say*, Let us go into the city ... *we shall die*, but if *we stay* here ... *we shall* (also) *die*. Jud. 13. 23 לוּ חָפֵץ לַהֲמִיתֵנוּ לֹא־לָקַח ... עֹלָה if *he had meant* to kill us *he would not have accepted* a burnt offering. Cf. also cases like Gen. 26. 10 כִּמְעַט שָׁכַב אַחַד הָעָם one of the people *might* easily *have lain* with your wife. 2 K. 13. 19. See further § 122, R. 1.

(*c*) So also in hypothetical wishes with לוּ, whether directed at past or future. Nu. 14. 2 לוּ־מַתְנוּ בְּאֶרֶץ מ׳ *would we had died* in the land of Eg.! Is. 63. 19 לוּא קָרַעְתָּ שָׁמַיִם *o that you would rend* the heavens! And so presumably in the case of the so-called "precative perf.", which is restricted to poetry and occurs in passages where a translation as though it were a juss. or an imper. is either demanded or makes better sense. It is not uncommon in prayers and appeals in Pss., Lam., very rare elsewhere. In 3rd pers., Ps. 67. 7 אֶרֶץ נָתְנָה יְבוּלָהּ *let* the earth *yield* its increase, cf. *vss.* 6, 8; 10. 16; 67. 6; 107. 42; 109. 28; 129. 4, Lam. 1. 21. Elsewhere, Is. 43. 9 and possibly Job 21. 16; 22. 18. In 2nd pers., Ps. 4. 2 when I am in distress הִרְחַבְתָּ לִי *do you give me room*, cf. previous line. If the QATAL in Lam. 3. 55 (קָרָאתִי) is performative (see § 57*b*, and cf. Ps. 17. 6; 130. 1) *I call* on your name, then שָׁמַעְתָּ in *vs.* 56 is prec., *do listen to* my voice, and אַל־תַּעְלֵם *do not close* your ear, follows naturally, as do the prec. QATALs in *vss.* 57-61 (*come near*, etc.; note the imper. שָׁפְטָה *judge* my cause, *vs.* 59). Ps. 3. 8; 7. 7; 25. 11; 31. 6; 56. 9; 60. 6; 61. 6 (with emphatic כִּי); 85. 2-4 (?); 119. 21; 140. 8. A unique example in prose is probably Gen. 40. 14 כִּי אִם־זְכַרְתַּנִי only *do you remember* me.

Rem. 1. The great majority of the above exx. of prec. QATAL are linked appositionally to an imper. or juss. or to another prec. QATAL. Only in four cases are they followed by *Vav* with a verb, in Ps. 109. 28 by *Vav* cons. YIQTOL, in Is. 43. 9 and Lam. 1. 21 by ordinary *Vav* with YIQTOL (juss.), and in Gen. 40. 14 by *Vav* cons. QATAL (exceptionally with enclitic ־נָא). There is a similar uncertainty about what follows in the case of the proph. QATAL (§ 59, R. 1).

Some of the exx. cited are not as convincing as others; Ps. 85. 2-4 may have past reference; in Ps. 10. 16 the QATAL may be proph. as apparently in *vs.* 17 or, alternatively, the three QATALs in *vs.* 17 may be prec.; in Ps. 25. 11 the QATAL is itself preceded by *Vav* and may be an unusual instance of *Vav* cons. QATAL, though in its context it still has volitive force. The latter

remark is important and is worth stressing; neither the prec. QATAL nor the *Vav* cons. QATAL nor for that matter the proph. QATAL carries future or volitive meaning within itself but derives such meaning from the verbs with which it collocates or from other markers in the context.

The YIQTOL Conjugation

§ 61. The YIQTOL (traditionally, imperfect) conjugation denotes actions and processes as opposed to states and is the appropriate conjugation for expressing various kinds of mood and contingency. There is evidence in some verbal paradigms of two discrete forms, a shorter expressing (1) simple action and (2) the "jussive" mood, and a longer expressing (1) extended action or process and (2) the "future" and associated moods. In most paradigms, however, these two forms have merged, and even in the paradigms which retain them the long form commonly replaces the short. This can often make it difficult in passages which lack a surviving short form or a helpful context to be sure whether a merged YIQTOL form has a nuance properly carried by the short form or one properly carried by the long.

Rem. 1. On the unsuitability of the term "imperfect" see § 55, R. 1. The YIQTOLs which have shortened forms occur in the Hiph. of "regular" verbs, in verbs medially and finally "weak" (קום, שׂים; גלה), and in geminate verbs (סבב).

§ 62. The (short) YIQTOL denotes simple action, i.e. action which is not viewed as iterative or progressive. It is widespread (as *Vav* cons. YIQTOL) in past narrative contexts, but is also found in poetry in the other two time settings.

(*a*) In prose narrative this YIQTOL is (with a few possible exceptions, Rem. 1) restricted to the position immediately following *Vav* (i.e. VAYYIQTOL). In narrative poetry, however, the parallelistic structure does not favour the use of cons. forms and the (short) YIQTOL is found on its own in any position in a verse or line. QATAL too (§ 58*d*) is used more freely in poetic than in prose narrative. Both QATAL and (short) YIQTOL are usually translated by an Engl. past tense but are *not* simple alternatives, but have different aspectual nuances; the QATAL marks the episodic nature of poetic narrative, while the (short) YIQTOL

sustains as it can (as, when it is used, does the *Vav* cons. YIQTOL) its forward movement.

That the narrative YIQTOL in poetry goes back to an original short YIQTOL is shown by the frequent use of shortened forms where these exist; and most clearly by some chance variations in the narrative portions in the two versions of the same poem in 2 S. 22 and Ps. 18. Thus *vs.* 12 in 2 S. 22 וַיָּשֶׁת and in Ps. 18 יָשֶׁת (*and*) *he made* darkness his covering; *vs.* 14 in 2 S. 22 יַרְעֵם and in Ps. 18 וַיַּרְעֵם (*and*) *he thundered.* Cf. *vs.* 7 in 2 S. 22 וַיִּשְׁמַע and in Ps. 18 יִשְׁמַע. In this particular poem there are about the same number of *Vav* cons. and free standing YIQTOL forms, and about half that number of QATALs. There are similar series of (short) YIQTOLs interspersed in varying measures among *Vav* cons. YIQTOLs and QATALs in Ex. 15. 4-10 (note *vs.* 5 יְכַסִּימוּ the deeps *covered them*, *vs.* 10 כִּסָּמוֹ the sea *covered them*); Deu. 32. 8-20 (note *vs.* 8 יַצֵּב *he fixed*, *vs.* 18 the rock which bore you תְּשִׁי *you forgot*); Ps. 44. 10-15; 68. 8-15 (note *vs.* 15 תַּשְׁלֶג *it snowed* on Zalmon); 74. 3-8, 12-15; 78 *passim* (note *vs.* 26 יַסַּע, *vs.* 52 וַיַּסַּע (*and*) *he led out*); 104. 6-9; 107 *passim* (note *vs.* 29 יָקֵם *he turned* storm into silence).

Some of the unshortened YIQTOLs in these poems may be frequentatives, and this has often been argued; but it is not enough to do this on semantic grounds. Thus a good candidate would be Ps. 78. 14 which speaks of leading the people in daytime by cloud and at night by fire; but the verb is *Vav* cons. YIQTOL, וַיַּנְחֵם. There is in fact no reason to doubt that the actions described are narrative actions and that the time they last is not in these contexts relevant; nor for that matter is it possible to see them as other than perfective in aspect. We should presumably regard in the same light the YIQTOLs in other narrative passages, e.g. Ps. 80. 9-13; 116. 3-4; Hab. 3. 3ff.; Job 4. 12-16, etc. And indeed in other past contexts, e.g. Job 3. 3 cursed be the day אִוָּלֶד בּוֹ *on which I was born;* 15. 7, 8, Is. 51. 2, etc. There is a whole area here which has scarcely begun to be investigated.

A rare surviving example in prose seems to be provided by Jud. 2. 1 אַעֲלֶה אֶתְכֶם *I brought you up* from Eg.; the form is long YIQTOL, but it is followed by *Vav* cons. YIQTOL. Cf. (with simple *Vav*) Dan. 8. 12 וְתַשְׁלֵךְ *and it cast* truth to the ground.

(*b*) There are a number of short YIQTOLs from the relevant

paradigms in poetic passages set in present and in future time, about which it is not so easy to be sure. Perhaps they hint at a wider distinction in present contexts in general between simple action and extended action forms, and in future contexts between an indicative (short) YIQTOL (i.e. with non-jussive meaning) and an indicative (long) YIQTOL. But unlike the usage in *a*, which is parallelled in prose by the *Vav* cons. YIQTOL, these usages are not represented in prose, where the field is dominated by the (long) YIQTOL. This matter too requires further investigation. Rem. 2.

Rem. 1. The conjunct. אָז *then, at that time*, often and the adv. טֶרֶם *not yet* and the conjuncts. טֶרֶם, בְּטֶרֶם *before* nearly always take YIQTOL.

אָז with YIQTOL is restricted to prose narrative, but it does not indicate sequence; rather it points to something taking place at the time of the narrative. It may also be followed by QATAL, but this usage is found in poetry as well as prose and often has a sequential role. Otherwise there seems little difference between the two usages other than the expected aspectual nuance. It has been argued that the YIQTOL is iterative (*used to*) or ingressive (*began to*); but though either of these senses may be possible in some instances (e.g. Ex. 15. 1 אָז יָשִׁיר *at that time* Moses *used to, began to sing*) they are both excluded in many others (e.g. Deu. 4. 41 אָז יַבְדִּיל *at that time* Moses *set apart* three cities; Jos. 8. 30 אָז יִבְנֶה *at that time* Joshua *built* an altar); and in any case an ingressive sense is only definitely attested for the YIQTOL of stative verbs, § 57, R. 2. It would seem most reasonable to conclude, in spite of the long forms just quoted, that the usage is perfective, as it is in the case of the QATAL, and that the form is properly the (short) YIQTOL - as indeed it is in one instance, 1 K. 8. 1 אָז יַקְהֵל *at that time* Solomon *assembled* (2 Chr. 5. 2 אָז יַקְהִיל). Other exx. of YIQTOL, Nu. 21. 17, Jos. 10. 12; 22. 1; 1 K. 3. 16; 9. 11; 11. 7 (יִבְנֶה); 16. 21; 2 K. 8. 22 (2 Chr. 21. 10). Exx. of QATAL, Gen. 4. 26 אָז הוּחַל *at that time it was begun* (*men began*), Jud. 8. 3 אָז רָפְתָה *then* their anger *was abated*, Ex. 4. 26, Jos. 10. 33. In narrative poetry, Gen. 49. 4, Ex. 15. 15, Jud. 5. 11, 19. In non-narrative contexts, Jos. 22. 31, Ps. 119. 92, Ecc. 2. 15.

On the other hand, as conjuncts. with YIQTOL, טֶרֶם once and בְּטֶרֶם frequently occur in a present - fut. context, in poetry as well as prose, Is. 65. 24 וְהָיָה טֶרֶם יִקְרָאוּ and *before they cry*, I shall answer, Gen. 45. 28 that I may see him בְּטֶרֶם אָמוּת *before I die*. Gen. 27. 4, Ex. 1. 19, Deu. 31. 21, 1 S. 9. 13, Is. 7. 16; 8. 4, etc. It is therefore probably a conditioned usage when this is transferred to a past context, Ex. 12. 34 the people took their dough טֶרֶם יֶחְמַץ *before it was leavened*, Jer. 1. 5 וּבְטֶרֶם תֵּצֵא *and before you came out*

of the womb. Gen. 24. 45, Ex. 12. 34, Jos. 2. 8; 3. 1, Ps. 119. 67. Gen. 27. 33; 37. 18; 41. 50, Jud. 14. 18, 1 S. 2. 15, Is. 48. 5; 66. 7. This suggests that the adv. טֶרֶם *not yet*, which is only found in narrative prose, should be regarded in a similar light, Gen. 2. 5 טֶרֶם יִצְמַח ... טֶרֶם יִהְיֶה ... וְכָל־שִׂיחַ when *no* plant ... *was yet* in the earth and *no* herb ... *had yet sprung up;* 19. 4, Nu. 11. 35, 1 S. 3. 3. The YIQTOL in other words is a normal long YIQTOL as in § 63*a*.

Rem. 2. Exx. of short YIQTOL in present time, Ps. 90. 3 תָּשֹׁב *you turn* men *back* to destruction, Job 18. 9 a snare יַחֲזֵק *seizes hold* on him. Ps. 11. 6 (יַמְטֵר); 25. 9 (יַדְרֵךְ); 58. 5 (יֹאטֵם); 72. 13 (יָחֹס), Job 17. 2 (תָּלַן); 20. 26 (יֵרַע), *vs.* 28 (יָגֶל); 27. 8 (יִשָּׁל); 36. 14 (תָּמוּת); 37. 4, 5 (יַרְעֵם); 38. 24 (יָפֵץ); 40. 8 (תָּפֵר), *vs.* 9 (תַּרְעֵם), Pr. 12. 26 (יָתֵר).

Exx. of short YIQTOL in future time, Gen. 49. 17 יְהִי־דָן נָחָשׁ Dan *shall be* a serpent in the way, Is. 27. 6 in days to come יַשְׁרֵשׁ יַעֲקֹב Jacob *shall take root.* 1 S. 2. 10 (יַרְעֵם), Is. 61. 10 (תָּגֵל), Nah. 3. 11 (תִּהִי), Zech. 9. 5 (תֵּרֵא); 10. 7 (יָגֵל). The exx. in Deu. 28 with its lists of blessings and curses are probably jussives, though rendered by an Engl. fut. tense, *vs.* 8 (יְצַו), *vs.* 21 (יִדְבַּק), vs. 36 (יוֹלֵךְ).

It should also be noted that there are not a few cases in poetry of simple *Vav* followed by either a short or a long YIQTOL; these occur in all three time settings and seem on the whole to have a coordinating rather than a consecutive function. § 79.

§ 63. The (long) YIQTOL expresses actions which are iterative (frequentative), customary or habitual, distributive or, in some cases simply proceeding at a particular point in time. It is found in narrative prose in past contexts and in both prose and poetry in discourses which are set by their context in present time. In both these genres, as in its other usages (§ 64), it resists the initial position in a clause or that immediately following *Vav*, though rather more consistently in prose than in poetry.

(*a*) Of actions iterative, customary, etc. in the past. Gen. 2. 6 וְאֵד יַעֲלֶה and a mist *used to, would* go up, Nu. 9. 18 עַל־פִּי יְ׳ יִסְעוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַל־פִּי יְ׳ יַחֲנוּ at Y.'s command the Israelites *set out* and at Y.'s command *they encamped* (cf. next clause); 1 S. 2. 19 וּמְעִיל קָטֹן תַּעֲשֶׂה־לּוֹ אִמּוֹ and a little robe his mother *used to make* for him; Job 1. 5 כָּכָה יַעֲשֶׂה אִיּוֹב כָּל־הַיָּמִים so Job *used to do* regularly; 2 Chr. 9. 21 once every three years תָּבוֹאנָה אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ the ships of T. *came* (home). Gen. 6. 4; 29. 2; 31. 29, Nu. 11. 5, 9, Deu. 2. 11, 20, Jud. 6. 4, 5; 17. 6, 1 S. 1. 5, 7, 2 S. 12. 3, 31; 17. 17; 20. 18, 1 K. 5. 25, 28; 10. 5; 18. 10, 2 K. 4. 8; 13. 20,

1 Chr. 20. 3. With distributive nuance, Gen. 2. 19 וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא־לוֹ הָאָדָם and *whatever he called it;* 1 S. 18. 5 בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלָחֶנּוּ שָׁאוּל יַשְׂכִּיל wherever S. *sent* him *he was successful;* 13. 17-18; 14. 47, 2 K. 3. 25, Jer. 36. 18. Of an action going on at or around the same time as another action, 1 S. 1. 10 וַתִּתְפַּלֵּל עַל־יְ׳ וּבָכֹה תִבְכֶּה and she prayed to Y., *weeping* bitterly; Is. 6. 4 and the foundation of the threshold shook ... וְהַבַּיִת יִמָּלֵא עָשָׁן while the temple *filled up* with smoke. Ex. 8. 20; 21. 36, 2 S. 15. 37; 23. 10, Jer. 52. 7, Ezr. 9. 4, 1 Chr. 11. 8. With negative verb, Gen. 2. 25 וְלֹא יִתְבֹּשָׁשׁוּ and *they were not ashamed;* 1 S. 13. 19 וְחָרָשׁ לֹא יִמָּצֵא now a smith *was not (to be) found.* 1 S. 1. 13, 2 S. 2. 28, 1 K. 8. 8, 2 K. 23. 9.

In prose narrative these usages are recognised by the intrusion of a long YIQTOL form which is not intrinsic to the genre and in the longer passages by its collocation with *Vav* cons. QATAL; like plain QATAL they halt the progress of the story. In poetic narrative they are more difficult to detect because of the frequent presence of other (properly short) YIQTOLs which are in fact narrative forms (§ 62*a*), but cf. Ps. 42. 5 these things I remember ... כִּי אֶעֱבֹר בַּסָּךְ how *I used to pass along* in the throng. Jud. 5. 8, 2 S. 1. 22, Ps. 55. 15.

(*b*) Of an even wider range of actions in the present. Thus in comparisons with כֵּן *so,* כַּאֲשֶׁר *as,* and similar words. Gen. 29. 26 לֹא־יֵעָשֶׂה כֵן בִּמְקֹמֵנוּ *it is not so done* in our country; Jud. 7. 5 כַּאֲשֶׁר יָלֹק הַכֶּלֶב *as a dog laps.* Gen. 50. 3, Ex. 33. 11, Deu. 1. 31, 44; 2. 11, 20; 28. 29, 1 S. 5. 5; 19. 24, 2 S. 5. 8, Am. 3. 7, 12, Ps. 103. 13, Job 7. 2. In proverbial sayings and general truths, Ex. 23. 8 כִּי הַשֹּׁחַד יְעַוֵּר פִּקְחִים for a bribe *blinds* the clear-sighted; Pr. 10. 4 וְיַד חָרוּצִים תַּעֲשִׁיר but the hand of the diligent *brings riches.* Deu. 16. 19, 1 S. 16. 7; 24. 14, 2 S. 11. 25, 1 K. 8. 46, Ps. 1. 3-6; 103. 15-16, Pr. 1. 20-21; 10. 1-3; 12. 2; 13. 5; 15. 1; 26. 20, etc. Of a characteristic or habit, 2 K. 9. 20 כִּי בְשִׁגָּעוֹן יִנְהָג for *he drives* furiously. Gen. 44. 5, Deu. 10. 17, 1 S. 23. 22, Is. 13. 17, 18. Here belong many poetic passages describing typical divine, human or animal conduct; the QATAL in § 57*c* often has a similar meaning and often occurs in the same passages. Ps. 37. 30 the mouth of the righteous יֶהְגֶּה חָכְמָה *utters* wisdom, and his tongue תְּדַבֵּר מִשְׁפָּט *speaks* justice; 65. 12 עִטַּרְתָּ (QATAL) *you crown* the year with your bounty וּמַעְגָּלֶיךָ יִרְעֲפוּן and your chariot tracks *drip* fatness; Job 21. 12 יִשְׂאוּ *they* (the

wicked) *lift up* tambourine and lyre וְיִשְׂמְחוּ and *rejoice* to the sound of the flute; Pr. 6. 8 תָּכִין *she* (the ant) *prepares* her food in summer, אָגְרָה *she stores* her supplies in harvest. Is. 43. 17, Ps. 10 *passim;* 29. 8-9; 73. 5-9; 90. 3-6; 92. 13-15; 103. 15-16; 104. 10-13, Job 8. 11-19; 14. 18-22; 18. 5-20. But also of actions repeated or general over a limited period, 1 K. 22. 8 כִּי לֹא־יִתְנַבֵּא עָלַי טוֹב for he *does not* (never) *prophesy*(ies) good concerning me. Ex. 13. 15; 18. 15-16, 1 S. 9. 6, 2 K. 6. 12.

In poetry, YIQTOL also frequently denotes actions repeated or continued over a longer or shorter period, but these are as often specific as they are general. These usages equate not only with QATALs as in § 57*c* but with QATALs as in § 57*d*; it is among them that we should look for surviving instances of the (short) YIQTOL in present fut. time (see § 62*b* and R. 2). Exx. from prophetic denunciations: Is. 1. 23 the orphan לֹא יִשְׁפֹּטוּ *they do not treat with justice*, and the widow's grievance לֹא־יָבוֹא אֲלֵיהֶם *does not reach* them; Jer. 6. 23 bow and spear יַחֲזִיקוּ *they grasp* ... וְלֹא יְרַחֵמוּ and *they show no mercy*, the sound of them כַּיָּם יֶהֱמֶה is like the *roaring* sea and on horses יִרְכָּבוּ *they ride*. Is. 5. 11-12; 9. 17; 14. 8; 41. 5-7, Jer. 5. 21-22, Hos. 4. 8, 13; 7. 1-3, 14-16, Mic. 3. 11, Nah. 2. 5-6. From descriptions of personal experience: Ps. 16. 10 כִּי לֹא־תַעֲזֹב for *you do not give up* my life to Sheol, לֹא־תִתֵּן *you do not let* your faithful one (*Qere*) see the pit; 138. 7 though I walk in the midst of trouble, תְּחַיֵּנִי *you preserve my life*, against the wrath of my enemies תִּשְׁלַח *you stretch out* your hand וְתוֹשִׁיעֵנִי (§ 85) and your right hand *saves me*. 22. 8, 18-19; 35. 11-12; 50. 19-20; 55. 4-6; 56. 4-7; 83. 3-6; 102. 12, Job 30. 16-22. Also notworthy are addresses to God, as Ps. 28. 1 אֵלֶיךָ יְ׳ אֶקְרָא to you, O Y., *I cry;* 22. 3; 25. 1; 61. 3; 102. 3; 142. 2-8 (contrast the QATAL in 130. 1; 141. 1, etc.). In other cases (26. 6; 77. 2) it is more likely that the verb is a substitute for cohort.

Rem. 1. Connected with the distributive use of YIQTOL is its use (1) in describing a boundary line and naming its *successive* points, Jos. 16. 8, interchanging sometimes with *Vav* cons. QATAL, 15. 3. Cf. 1 K. 6. 8. (2) In describing the course of an ornamentation, 1 K. 7. 15, 23 *ran round*, 2 Chr. 4. 2. (3) In stating the amount of metal that went to *each* of a class of articles, 1 K. 10. 16, 2 Chr. 9. 15. (4) In describing the quantity which a vessel, etc., contained, 1 K. 7. 26. So the details of collecting and disbursing moneys, 2 K. 12. 12-17. - In 2 K. 8. 29 (9. 15) the preceding plur. *wounds* perhaps distributes the verb *wounded* (QATAL in 2 Chr. 22. 6).

Rem. 2. Allied to *b* above is the use of YIQTOL in poetry to form attributive clauses, descriptive of the subj. or obj. of the clause. § 13. Gen. 49. 27 Benjamin is זְאֵב יִטְרָף *a ravening wolf;* Is. 40. 20 chooses עֵץ לֹא־ יִרְקָב a tree that *does* (*will*) *not rot;* Hos. 4. 14 עָם לֹא־יָבִין *an undiscerning people* shall come to ruin; Is. 51. 12 man *that dies* (*mortal* man); Zeph. 3. 17 *a victorious warrior.* Particularly in comparisons, Job 9. 26 כְּנֶשֶׁר יָטוּשׁ as an eagle *swooping;* 7. 2 as a servant *longing.* Deu. 32. 11, Is. 62. 1, Jer. 23. 29. Used adverbially, Is. 30. 14 *unsparingly,* Ps. 26. 1 *without wavering.*

Rem. 3. In questions with *why?* YIQTOL is commonly used of an action that has already occurred, Ex. 2. 13 לָמָּה תַכֶּה רֵעֶךָ why *do you* (*did you*) *strike* your fellow? Gen. 32. 30; 44. 7, Ex. 3. 3, 1 S. 1. 8; 17. 8; 28. 16. Engl. knows the same idiom. In questions with *whence? from where?* this is, however, not the the case, though it has been claimed to be. YIQTOL is properly used when the questioner either knows or supposes that the journey is still in progress, and a QATAL when he knows that it is concluded. Thus with QATAL in the question, Gen. 16. 8; 42. 7. With YIQTOL in the question and a ptcp. or similar in the answer, Jud. 17. 9; 19. 17, Job 1. 7. With YIQTOL in the question and, correcting a wrong impression, QATAL in the answer, Jos. 9. 8, 2 S. 1. 3, 2 K. 20. 14.

§ 64. In future time settings YIQTOL expresses both indicative actions and actions which depend on a previous action (contingent) or on the intention or other feelings of the speaker (modal). There is some evidence in poetry of a surviving short YIQTOL with indicative force in such settings (§ 62*b*), but in prose and in most poetry the contrast between simple and extended action seems to be neutralised, with only the long YIQTOL being used indicatively. In non-indicative contexts the aspectual distinction between two kinds of action is not relevant, and the short YIQTOL has a volitive function (jussive), as do the other two special moods formed on YIQTOL base (imper., cohort.); on these see next sect. The long YIQTOL also has some volitive functions but is chiefly used to express, in the appropriate context, the modal and contingent functions not carried by the special moods. As noted in § 63, it differs from these, however, in one important respect, resisting in prose (though not always in poetry) the initial position in a clause which these usually occupy or the position following *Vav* which they share with the *Vav* cons. QATAL.

(*a*) In indicative contexts the (long) YIQTOL expresses the simple future (denoted in Engl. by the auxiliary verbs *will, shall*). The

standpoint is mostly that of the speaker's present. Thus after a negative, Ex. 4. 1 וְהֵן לֹא יַאֲמִינוּ לִי but see, *they will not believe* me. Or an infin. absol., Gen. 3. 16 הַרְבָּה אַרְבֶּה עִצְּבוֹנֵךְ *I will greatly increase* your pain. Or a statement of time, Is. 24. 21 וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יִפְקֹד יי on that day Y. *will punish*. Gen. 15. 14; 40. 13, Is. 49. 20. After כִּי *for*, כֵּן *so, thus*, לָכֵן *therefore*: Ex. 6. 1, Nu. 14. 28, Is. 10. 16; 20. 4, Jer. 30. 11. Or a prep. phrase: Gen. 3. 14, Is. 11. 3, Mic. 4. 2. After a fronted subj., Nu. 14. 32 וּפִגְרֵיכֶם אַתֶּם יִפְּלוּ but as for you, your dead bodies *shall fall*, Gen. 3. 15; 46. 3-4, Jer. 30. 16. See also § 1*c* (pron.). Or obj., Gen. 3. 15 וְאֵיבָה אָשִׁית and emnity *I will put*. Or subj. or obj. in chiasmus, Is. 11. 6 the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, וְנָמֵר עִם־גְּדִי יִרְבָּץ and the leopard *shall lie down* with the kid. Gen. 12. 12 they will slay me וְאֹתָךְ יְחַיּוּ but you *they will spare*. Commonly beginning the main clause following a subord. clause; for exx. see Condit., Temporal clauses.

In subord. clauses YIQTOL is used in all three time frames. As a fut. in present, Deu. 4. 26 to witness כִּי־אָבֹד תֹּאבְדוּן מַהֵר that *you will* soon *utterly perish*, 2 K. 8. 12. In narrative, as a fut. in past, 1 K. 7. 7 he made the Hall of the Throne אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁפֹּט־שָׁם where he *was to, would* dispense justice, Gen. 43. 25, Nu. 14. 31, 2 K. 13. 14, Ps. 78. 6. As a fut. in fut., with almost the fut. perf. sense usually expressed by QATAL (§ 59*a*), Deu. 12. 29 כִּי יַכְרִית יי when Y. *cuts* (*shall have cut*) *off*. Gen. 29. 8 עַד אֲשֶׁר יֵאָסְפוּ until all the flocks *are gathered together*. Nu. 20. 17, Is. 4. 4; 6. 11. On the similar use of בְּטֶרֶם *before* with YIQTOL in both past and fut. time see § 62, R. 1.

In extended prose discourse the role of YIQTOL vis-à-vis VeQATAL is similar to that of QATAL vis-à-vis VAYYIQTOL in past narrrative (§ 58*b*); but there are differences. After the introductory phrase, clause or paragr. (circumstantial, temporal, conditional, causal, etc.) the *Vav* cons. QATAL carries forward the sequence of the discourse; and there is usually (see exx. above) a detectable reason for its non-use, be it simply to make a negative statement or, more significantly, to mark a movement in time, to indicate that two actions take place simultaneously rather than consecutively, to introduce a contrast, to highlight the subj. or obj. of a clause, etc. All of these consns. necessitate another word after the *Vav*, and the normal future YIQTOL is therefore used. On occasion, however, a subj. or obj. is placed first in a clause and followed by YIQTOL in what

seem to be a natural sequence, i.e. where a *Vav* cons. QATAL would be expected; e.g. subj. in Ex. 7. 18, obj. in Deu. 7. 20, 25; this does not happen with non-circumst. QATAL consns. in prose narrative. Apposition is also commoner than in prose narrative, the only context in which (long) YIQTOL is allowed to come first (e.g. Gen. 15. 15; Deu. 7. 5, 10, 21) while, on the other hand, circumst. clauses with subj. followed by YIQTOL (e.g. Ex. 4. 15) are much less common than their counterparts with QATAL in prose narrative. Moreover, fut. discourse is frequently shot through with backward references which use QATAL; or with instructional or precative passages where (short) YIQTOL as a jussive normally comes first and not infrequently follows *Vav;* or with passages using the more strictly modal nuances of the (long) YIQTOL, as in *c* and *d* below, to ask questions, indicate doubts and possibilities, express purposes, and so on. Two corollaries follow: on the one hand, the relationship between the "on line" *Vav* cons. QATAL and the "off line" YIQTOL is in fut. discourse considerably closer than that between the "on line" *Vav* cons. YIQTOL and the "off line" QATAL in past narrative and, on the other hand, fut. discourse is very much more varied and less homogeneous than is past narrative. Illumine from Gen. 28. 13-15; 41. 26-36; 44. 18-34; almost any discourse in Deu.; 2 S. 17. 1-3, 7-13, etc.

(*b*) In poetic discourse as in poetic narrative there are some additional features which have to do with the parallelistic structure and its avoidance of coordination. Thus appos. or asyndetous clauses beginning with YIQTOL are found in prose discourse (see *a* above) but are much more common in poetry, Ps. 64. 9 and he will bring them to ruin ..., יִתְנוֹדְדוּ כָּל־רֹאֵה בָם all who see them *will shake their heads;* 12. 6; 68. 23, Is. 3. 5; 13. 12, 16; 41. 16, etc. In poetry also YIQTOL may occasionally begin a discourse, Is. 35. 1 יִשְׂשׂוֹם מִדְבָּר וְצִיָּה the wilderness and dry land *shall be glad* (note enclitic *Mem*, § 26, R. 2). Or much more frequently a verse or line, in effect taking the place of *Vav* cons. QATAL, Is. 18. 6 יֵעָזְבוּ יַחְדָּו *they will be left* all together; 13. 12, 16; 42. 15, 16, Hos. 9. 17, Ps. 2. 9; 52. 7, etc.

(*c*) In non-indicative contents the (long) YIQTOL expresses the speaker's desire, intention, doubt, incredulity, etc. concerning some ensuing action. The shades of meaning of YIQTOL in such usages are manifold, corresponding (according to the context) to Engl. *will* (of

volition), *shall* (of command), *may* (of possibility or permission), *can* (of capability), *am to, must* (of obligation), *should* (of deliberation), etc. in the present; and to *would, should, might, could, was to*, etc. in the past or indirect speech. Particularly in emphatic commands, in wishes, questions, denials, conditions, after certain particles like אוּלַי *perhaps*, etc. Gen. 2. 19 לִרְאֹת מַה־יִּקְרָא לוֹ to see what *he would call* it; 3. 2 מִפְּרִי עֵץ־הַגָּן נֹאכֵל from the fruit of the trees in the garden *we may eat;* 3. 3 לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ *you shall (must) not eat* of it; 18. 25 הֲשֹׁפֵט כָּל־ הָאָרֶץ לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה מִשְׁפָּט *shall (should) not* the judge of all the earth *do* right? 20. 9 deeds אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יֵעָשׂוּ that *ought not to be done;* 27. 45 לָמָּה אֶשְׁכַּל שְׁנֵיכֶם why *should I be bereaved of* you both? 32. 13 the sand of the sea הַיָּדוּעַ נֵדַע כִּי יֹאמַר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִסָּפֵר which *cannot be counted;* 43. 7 *were we* in any way *to know* that *he would say?* Deu. 5. 13 שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים תַּעֲבֹד six days *shall you labour;* Jud. 9. 28 who is Ab. כִּי נַעַבְדֶנּוּ that *we should serve* him? 16. 15 אֵיךְ תֹּאמַר how *can you say?* 17. 8 to live בַּאֲשֶׁר יִמְצָא wherever *he might find* a place; Jer. 3. 19 I thought (said) אֲבִי תִקְרְאִי־לִי how *I would set* you among my sons ... (that) *you would call* me My Father; Am. 3. 3 הֲיֵלְכוּ שְׁנַיִם יַחְדָּו *can* two *walk* together? Ps. 5. 5 לֹא יְגֻרְךָ רָע evil *may not lodge with* you; Job 7. 16 לֹא לְעֹלָם אֶחְיֶה *I would not live* for ever; 9. 15 לְמִשְׁפְּטִי אֶתְחַנָּן *I must appeal for mercy* to my accuser; *vs.* 20 אָנֹכִי אֶרְשָׁע *I am to be condemned.* Gen. 2. 17; 44. 8, 9, 15, 34; 47. 15, Ex. 2. 4; 3. 11, 14 (?), Deu. 5. 7-18, Jud. 8. 6, 1 S. 18. 18; 20. 2, 5; 23. 13, 2 S. 2. 22; 3. 33; 6. 9; 14. 14, 2 K. 18. 13, Am. 3. 8, Ps. 8. 5; 11. 1; 13. 2, 3, Job 4. 17; 6. 3, 11; 7. 12, 17; 9. 16; 11. 7, etc. After אוּלַי *perhaps, it may be, supposing:* Gen. 16. 2; 18. 29; 24. 5, Nu. 23. 27, 1 S. 6. 5, 1 K. 18. 5, 2 K. 19. 4, Am. 5. 15. After לוּ *what if?*, Gen. 50. 15; *oh that!*, Gen. 17. 18, Job 6. 6. Frequently in the protasis of conditional sent. (q.v. for exx.); also in apodosis, Gen. 13. 16, Job 9. 20.

(*d*) In many of the exx. in *a-c* the YIQTOL, as well as having indic. or modal meaning, expresses the contingency of one action upon another, especially in the apodosis of condit. sent. or the main clause of a temporal or causal sent. This is its basic function following telic conjunctions, as לְמַעַן *in order that,* אֲשֶׁר *that,* לְבִלְתִּי *that not,* פֶּן *lest.* Ex. 4. 5 לְמַעַן יַאֲמִינוּ that *they may believe;* Deu. 4. 40 אֲשֶׁר יִיטַב לְךָ that *it may be well* with you; Gen. 3. 3 פֶּן־תְּמֻתוּן lest *you die.* 2 S. 14. 14. See final Clause.

Rem. 1. The expression מִי יוֹדֵעַ *who knows?* differs little from *perhaps*, and is followed by YIQTOL, 2 S. 12. 22, Joel 2. 14, Jon. 3. 9. In Est. 4. 14 אִם is supplied before the verb.

Rem. 2. On the YIQTOL forms with *paragogic Nun* see Grammars. These are not common and tend to occur in pause, suggesting that they may carry some emphasis. But this is doubtful; it is more likely that they are archaic forms of the kind often attracted to the pausal position. There is some evidence that they belong properly to the long YIQTOL, as they are rare with *Vav* cons. YIQTOL and never occur with jussive. Rather more frequently this *Nun* is retained before suffixes (the so-called *energic* forms) but there is again no discernible function.

The Moods. Imperative, Jussive and Cohortative

§ 65. In addition to modal YIQTOL Hebr. possesses an Imperative mood and two other partially used volitive moods, the Jussive for the 3rd and, especially in negative commands, the 2nd pers., and the Cohortative for the 1st pers. All these are formed on the YIQTOL base, the imper. dropping the initial ת of the 2nd pers., the jussive having (where it can) the same form as the short YIQTOL, the cohort. (except in final weak verbs) adding ה. They normally come first in a clause or immediately following *Vav*, which distinguishes them from the long YIQTOL, which avoids these positions. This general rule is not affected by the not infrequent cases where a long YIQTOL is used instead of a special mood (e.g. Gen. 41. 34 יַעֲשֶׂה פ' *let Ph. act*); but it may be countermanded in those cases where, out of a desire to focus upon a subj. or obj. or for some other reason, another word precedes the modal form, Gen. 42. 18 זֹאת עֲשׂוּ וִחְיוּ *this* do, and (you shall) live. To all three moods the particle נָא may be added, imparting a mild precative nuance which scarcely needs to be represented in Engl. The regular negative with the moods is אַל.

§ 66. The imper. is used to impress the speaker's will or desire directly upon another person. As in a command, specific or general, Gen. 16. 9 שׁוּבִי אֶל־גְּבִרְתֵּךְ *return* to your mistress; Ex. 20. 12 כַּבֵּד אֶת־ אָבִיךָ וְאֶת־אִמֶּךָ *honour* your father and mother. Or in advice or admonition, Ecc. 11. 9 שְׂמַח בַּחוּר בְּיַלְדוּתֶךָ *rejoice*, young man, in your youth, Hos. 10. 12. Or in giving permission or an invitation, Gen. 24. 33 and he said דַּבֵּר *speak on*, Ex. 10. 24, 2 S. 18. 23. Or making a request or

entreaty, Is. 6. 8 הִנֵּנִי שְׁלָחֵנִי here am I, *send me;* Ps. 64. 2 שְׁמַע־ אֱלֹהִים קוֹלִי *hear* my voice, O God; 119. 33-39. Imper. may be used ironically, Am. 4. 4 בֹּאוּ בֵית־אֵל וּפִשְׁעוּ *come* to Bethel - *and transgress,* 1 K. 2. 22.

The imper. cannot be used with a negative. Either long YIQTOL or juss. must be used, the first with לֹא and expressing a strong prohibition, the second with אַל and expressing a specific prohibition or attempt to dissuade, Ex. 20. 3 לֹא יִהְיֶה לְךָ *you shall not have* other gods; Gen. 45. 9 רְדָה אֵלַי אַל־תַּעֲמֹד come down to me, *do not delay;* Deu. 9. 7 זְכֹר אַל־תִּשְׁכַּח remember, *forget not.* Gen. 2. 17. Gen. 18. 3; 26. 2; 37. 22, Deu. 31. 6, 2 K. 18. 26, 31-32, Is. 6. 9, Jer. 4. 3.

Rem. 1. There is a lengthened imper. with הָ (cf. Gen. 45. 9 above); this may (cf. cohort.) have expressed some subjective emphasis on the part of the speaker, but it is now difficult to see any difference between the forms, comp. Jud. 9. 8 with *vs.* 14, 1 S. 9. 23; and in some verbs the longer form has become fixed, as חוּשָׁה *hasten,* עוּרָה *awake,* הַגִּישָׁה bring near, הַשְׁבָּעָה *swear,* and others.

Rem. 2. The imper. has some rhetorical usages, esp. in poetry. It is sometimes interjected in descriptions of the fut., the speaker as it were taking part in the scene and directly addressing the subj. of the events. This imper. is equivalent to a strong subjective expression of fut., e.g. Is. 54. 14 רַחֲקִי *be far* = *you shall be far.* 2 K. 19. 29, Is. 65. 18, Ps. 110. 2, Job 5. 22. Or it may be used as a kind of apostrophe, when no definite subj. is addressed, Is. 13. 2 שְׂאוּ־נֵס *lift up* a signal = *let* a signal *be lifted up.* Or in personification, Is. 1. 2 שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמַיִם וְהַאֲזִינִי אֶרֶץ *hear, O heavens,* and *give ear, O earth.* Ps. 148, *passim.*

§ 67. The jussive expresses similarly the will or desire of the speaker when, not the person addressed, but a third person is the subj. of the action. It is also used in the 2nd pers., regularly to express a negative command (see above), occasionally a positive, 1 S. 10. 8 שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תּוֹחֵל seven days *you shall wait.* In the 3rd pers. it may also be used with the force of a command, Gen. 1. 3 יְהִי אוֹר *let there be* light; Hos. 4. 4 אַךְ אִישׁ אַל־יָרֶב וְאַל־יוֹכַח אִישׁ yet *let none contend* and *none reprove.* Gen. 30. 34; 33. 9; 45. 20. Or to give advice, encouragement, or permission, Jud. 15. 2 תִּהְיֶה־נָּא לְךָ תַּחְתֶּיהָ *have her* instead of her; Gen. 41. 33 יֵרֶא פ' ... וְיִשְׁיתֵהוּ *let Ph. look out ... and place* him. Ex. 8. 25, Deu.

20. 5, 1 K. 1. 2; 22. 13. Or to express a wish, request, or entreaty, 1 S. 1. 23 יָקֵם יי דְּבָרוֹ *may Y. fulfil* his word; 1 K. 17. 21 תָּשָׁב־נָא נֶפֶשׁ הַיֶּלֶד הַזֶּה *may the life* of this child *return;* Gen. 18. 30 אַל־נָא יִחַר לַאדֹנָי *be not angry*, Lord. Gen. 13. 8; 26. 28; 33. 14; 44. 33, Ex. 5. 21, 1 S. 24. 16, 2 S. 19. 38, Ps. 121. 3. Or in pronouncing a benediction or malediction, Nu. 6. 25 יָאֵר יי פָּנָיו אֵלֶיךָ *Y. make* his face *to shine* upon us; Gen. 9. 26 יְהִי כְנַעַן עֶבֶד לָמוֹ *may C. be* his slave. 1 S. 10. 24; Jer. 20. 14.

Rem. 1. A few cases occur of juss. in 1st pers., 1 S. 14. 36, 2 S. 17. 12, Is. 41. 23 (*Ket.*), 28. These, taken together with the frequent cases (though chiefly with אַל) of 2nd. pers. juss. and the few cases (§ 68, R. 1) of the cohort. in 3rd pers., suggest that both moods may at one time have been complete. At present the fragmentary forms supplement each other.

Rem. 2. Occasionally לֹא is found with the juss., 3rd or 2nd pers., instead of אַל, Gen. 24. 8, 1 S. 14. 36, 2 S. 17. 12; 18. 14 (cohort.), 1 K. 2. 6, Ez. 48. 14.

Rem. 3. The form יוֹסֵף etc. (hiph. of יסף *add, do again* or *more*) occurs with no juss. sense, e.g. Gen. 4. 12, Nu. 22. 19, Hos. 9. 15, Joel 2. 2, Ez. 5. 16, perhaps therefore properly short YIQTOL.

Rem. 4. Noteworthy rhetorical usages of juss. are in personification and metonomy, generally in poetry, espec. Pss., Ps. 33. 8; 96. 11-12; 97. 1; 98. 7-8.

§ 68. The cohort. is used to express the will of the speaker in reference to his own action. When the speaker is free the cohort. expresses intention or resolve, Gen. 18. 21 אֵרְדָה־נָּא *I will go down;* 22. 5 וַאֲנִי וְהַנַּעַר נֵלְכָה עַד־כֹּה while I and the lad *will go* there; Deu. 17. 14 אָשִׂימָה עָלַי מֶלֶךְ *I will set* a king over me. Gen. 12. 2, 3; 24. 57, Ex. 3. 3, Is. 1. 24. When he is dependent on others it expresses a wish or entreaty, Deu. 12. 20 אֹכְלָה בָשָׂר I *would* (*like to*) *eat* flesh; 2 S. 24. 14 נִפְּלָה־נָּא ... וּבְיַד־אָדָם אַל־אֶפֹּלָה בְיַד יי *let us fall* into the hand of Y. ... but into the hand of men *let me not fall.* Gen. 33. 14; 50. 5, Nu. 21. 22, Jud. 12. 5, 1 S. 28. 22, 2 S. 16. 19, 1 K. 19. 20, Is. 5. 1, Jer. 17. 18; 18. 18, Jon. 1. 14, Ps. 25. 2; 69. 14-15. In the plur. a note of mutual encouragement is often present, Deu. 13. 3 נֵלְכָה אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים *let us follow* other gods. Gen. 37. 27, Ps. 2. 3. Especially if preceded by, as a kind of auxiliary, the plur. imper. of a verb of motion, Is. 1. 18 לְכוּ־נָא וְנִוָּכְחָה come, and *let us reason together;* Jud. 19. 28 קוּמוּ וְנֵלֵכָה get up, *let us be going.* Gen. 11. 3, 4, 7, Jud. 19. 11, 13, 1 S. 9. 9, 2 S. 15. 14, Jer. 46. 16, Ps.

95. 1, 6.

Rem. 1. Exx. of cohort. in 3rd pers., Deu. 33. 16, Is. 5. 19, Ps. 20. 4 (rare).

Rem. 2. Occasionally cohort. is used in the protasis of a conditional sent., presumably with a nuance of intention, Ps. 139. 8, Job 16. 6, cf. 19. 18. So following עַד *until*, Ps. 73. 17; cf. Lam. 3. 50 (juss.).

Rem. 3. Occasionally cohort. may be translated by Engl. *must* (Is. 38. 10; Jer. 4. 21) or *can* (Ex. 32. 30, Jer. 6. 10) but it is the context which allows this; it is not likely that notions of obligation, compulsion or possibility are present in the form itself. Rather different are the cases in which cohort. carries, not modal, but indicative meaning. In a past context, Ps. 66. 6, Pr. 7. 7. In a present context, Is. 59. 10, Jer. 4. 19, Ps. 42. 5; 55. 3, 18; 57. 5; 77. 4, 7; 88. 16. Cf. also *Vav* cons. with cohort. (§ 83, R. 1). It is uncertain whether these are survivals of a once more widespread usage or later "pseudo" developments based on the analogy of *Vav* cons. YIQTOL with the 3rd pers. which often has (though properly short YIQTOL) forms similar to the juss.

The *VAV* Consecutive Constructions

§ 69. Hebr. has developed a number of syntactical devices for distinguishing among the different linking functions carried out by its ubiquitous conjunction *Vav*. Prominent among these are the two constructions traditionally called *Vav* conversive or consecutive, one in which the *Vav* is attached to a form from the QATAL conjugation (veQATAL) and is commonly preceded by a form from the long YIQTOL conjugation (or one of its associated moods) and one in which the *Vav* is attached to a form from the short YIQTOL conjugation (VAYYIQTOL) and is commonly preceded by a form from the QATAL conjugation. Their chief function is to mark the continuance of a piece of narrative or discourse over at least one but more often several stages. The sequence they establish is essentially chronological, though not necessarily one of strict succession, but it is also frequently logical as well (cf. Engl. *then*). It is their characteristic usage following a form from the *opposite* conjugation that gave rise to the name conversive, as if the constructions involved of necessity not only a change of conjugation but a transfer to the converted form of the initial verb's value. But there is another usage of the constructions which is almost as common and which is triggered not by an antecedent verb but by a previous statement which need not

contain a verb of the opposite conjugation or indeed any verb but may simply be a phrase or even a single word. This statement is not, like the antecedent verb, part of the sequence but rather supplies the ground or occasion of it and, being to that extent detached, cannot therefore transfer any meaning to the *Vav* cons. form. The name conversive should therefore be dropped and the primary meanings of veQATAL and VAYYIQTOL sought among the aspectual possibilities offered by their own conjugations. In effect veQATAL denotes a state (or an action so viewed) and VAYYIQTOL denotes a simple (i.e. non-frequentative and non-modal) action which arise out of something that has gone before; and these values remain the same whether that something is a verb of the opposite conjugation or an antecedent clause or phrase. It is important that this fact be fully appreciated if only because Engl. has no means of rendering the aspectual meanings of the two cons. forms but is compelled to translate a sequence containing them as though they were long YIQTOLs or indicative QATALs, and to do this not only when such a verb begins the sequence but also (obviously because the contexts are in other ways so similar) when they are preceded by a clause or phrase. Rem. 1.

If in these two constructions there is no "conversion" of the verb after *Vav* it follows that there can be no "reversion" to a simple YIQTOL or QATAL when a negative or other word or phrase is inserted between *Vav* and the verb. Such a change of word order is not, as the rules in the Grammars seem to assume, a matter of convention but indicates either that the constructions in question are non-consecutive or, if they are consecutive, that they are deliberately highlighting a feature of the connection other than the verb. It is therefore of their own nature and not as variants of cons. forms that the verbs in these constructions belong to the YIQTOL or QATAL conjugations.

The *Vav* cons. constructions are much less used in poetry than in prose. This may suggest that they are not original to poetry, but it may simply be due to the constraints of poetic parallelism which, by the way it divides a narrative or discourse into discrete units, is not conducive to constructions which further their continuity.

Rem. 1. It is worth emphasizing again (see § 55, R. 2) that tense in Hebr. is signalled by the context and is not a function of the verb, as it is in Engl.

This means that in the case of *Vav* cons. forms as of free-standing verbal forms Engl. is obliged to pick up from the context time references which do not belong to these forms. But there is, as has already been mentioned, a further difficulty with cons. forms. Engl. does not possess such forms and cannot therefore represent their aspectual values, but has in fact to translate them in sequence as though they were "conversive" forms. Thus 1 K. 22. 22 אֵצֵא וְהָיִיתִי רוּחַ שֶׁקֶר which literally means something like "I-go-out and (as a result) I-in-a-state-of-being a lying spirit" must in that context be rendered *I will go out and (will) be a lying spirit* (אֵצֵא is properly cohort., § 68). So also following a non-verbal antecedent, Ex. 16. 6 עֶרֶב וִידַעְתֶּם, lit. "evening and you-in-a-state-of-knowing", must in the context be rendered *at evening you will know*. Similarly in the case of VAYYIQTOL, e.g. Gen. 3. 1 הַנָּחָשׁ הִשִּׁיאַנִי וָאֹכֵל, lit. "the serpent in-a-state-of-deceiving me and I-eat" has in the context to be translated *the serpent deceived me and I ate*. The translation in effect buries the original usage.

Rem. 2. The two *Vav* cons. constructions rarely clash. Since the QATAL conjugation is involved in both, they are most easily distinguished from each other by whether they contain or are associated with a short or long YIQTOL. Short YIQTOL expresses simple indicative action and long YIQTOL iterative or modal action, and it is not therefore surprising that VAYYIQTOL predominates in past narrative and that the two commonest uses of veQATAL are in contexts which describe process in past time or make predictions, commands, etc., in future time. But these are majority usages only, and both constructions are in fact found in all three time settings; in particular VAYYIQTOL should not be called a narrative form.

VAV CONSECUTIVE QATAL

§ 70. There is a formal means, to do with moving the stress foward, of identifying *Vav* cons. QATAL, but it applies only to two members of the paradigm instead of the three where it might apply, namely to the 2nd mas. sing. and the 1st sing., but not to the similarly structured 1st plur. Nor is there shift of stress in 1st and 2nd sing. pausal forms, and exceptions are frequent in Hiph. forms and in verbs final Aleph and He. See Grammars.

§ 71. The contexts in which *Vav* cons. QATAL is most clearly seen to possess its own distinctive aspectual meaning are those in which *Vav* joins a main clause to its subordinate clause, the *Vav* functioning as what is called *Vav apodosi* or *Vav* of the apodosis, rather like *then* or *therefore* in similar sentences in Engl. In these constructions there can be no

question of QATAL deriving its meaning from an antecedent long YIQTOL. On the other hand, long YIQTOL may replace veQATAL in the main clause, though usually without a linking *Vav* and (see § 63, 64) rarely in initial position, and have, according to the time set by the context, its regular indicative, modal or frequentative meanings. This fact is important, as it indicates the kinds of "stative" value carried by the QATAL; they are the kinds carried by free-standing QATAL in e.g. the passages cited in § 57*c, d* or § 59*b* where the two conjugations are also interchangeable - compatible would be a more exact term; the Hebr. forms are not so much interchangeable as drawing attention to different aspects of the same situation; it is only in Engl. translation that they seem interchangeable.

(*a*) *Vav* cons. QATAL regularly introduces the apodosis of conditional sentences, the QATAL expressing the state of affairs that should result if the condition laid down in the protasis is fulfilled. It is unlikely that the QATAL by nature contains any sense of contingency or modality, these nuances being derived from the context; see § 60. As the apodosis may have either veQATAL or YIQTOL, so may the protasis contain either YIQTOL or QATAL; but the latter choice does not govern the former, each conjugation expressing independently its appropriate aspectual sense.

Jud. 4. 8 אִם תֵּלְכִי עִמִּי וְהָלַכְתִּי *if you (will) go with me, (then) I will go.* Gen. 18. 26 if אֶמְצָא *I find* at Sodom fifty righteous men within the city וְנָשָׂאתִי (*then*) *I will spare* the whole place. Deu. 19. 8-9 if Y. your God יַרְחִיב *enlarges* your border ... וְיָסַפְתָּ (*then*) *do you add* three other cities. With QATAL in prot., Jud. 16. 17 אִם־גֻּלַּחְתִּי וְסָר מִמֶּנִּי כֹחִי *if I be shaved, (then) my strength will leave me.* 2 S. 15. 33.

Two *Vav* cons. QATALs may be juxtaposed to form a conditional sent., the particle being omitted. Gen. 9. 16 וְהָיְתָה הַקֶּשֶׁת בֶּעָנָן וּרְאִיתִיהָ (*if, when) the bow is in the cloud, (then) I will see it.* Ex. 33. 10 וְרָאָה *and* (when) all the people *saw* the pillar of cloud ... וְקָם (*then*) all the people *would rise up.* 1 K. 8. 30 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ וְסָלָחְתָּ *and (when) you hear, forgive.*

With YIQTOL in apod., Jud. 4. 8 וְאִם־לֹא תֵלְכִי לֹא אֵלֵךְ *but if you (will) not go* with me, *I will not go.* 1 S. 12. 25 וְאִם הָרֵעַ תָּרֵעוּ גַּם־ אַתֶּם גַּם־מַלְכְּכֶם תִּסָּפּוּ *but if you still act wickedly, both you and your king shall be swept away;* Is. 1. 18 אִם־יִהְיוּ חַטָּאֵיכֶם כַּשָּׁנִים כַּשֶּׁלֶג יַלְבִּינוּ

though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; Am. 9. 2-4. If there is, apart from the aspectual nuances, a difference between veQATAL and YIQTOL, it may lie in the added force which the *Vav* gives to the contingency. Note that, though YIQTOL may not, an imper. or juss. may come first in the apod., Job 19. 28-29 כִּי תֹאמְרוּ ... גוּרוּ *if you say ... be afraid.* Ps. 137. 5.

(*b*) *Vav* cons. QATAL is similarly used and with similar YIQTOL compatible values in the main clause following a subordinate temporal or causal clause, Gen. 27. 40 כַּאֲשֶׁר תָּרִיד וּפָרַקְתָּ עֻלּוֹ *when you grow restless, (then) you shall break his yoke;* Ex. 1. 19 בְּטֶרֶם תָּבוֹא *before* the midwife *comes* to them וְיָלָדוּ *they are delivered.* With YIQTOL in apod., Gen. 4. 12 כִּי תַעֲבֹד ... לֹא־תֹסֵף תֵּת־כֹּחָהּ *when you work* the ground, *it shall no longer yield its strength* to you. Causal: 1 K. 20. 42 ... יַעַן שִׁלַּחְתָּ וְהָיְתָה נַפְשְׁךָ תַּחַת נַפְשׁוֹ *because you let go ... (therefore) your life shall be forfeit for his life, vs.* 28, Gen. 22. 16, Is. 3. 16-17. Deu. 4. 37-39 וְתַחַת כִּי *and because* he loved your fathers ... וְיָדַעְתָּ הַיּוֹם *know (therefore) this day.* Jud. 1. 15.

(*c*) *Vav* cons. QATAL by extension may follow equivalent temporal, causal, etc. phrases with prep. and infin., Gen. 9. 14 בְּעַנְנִי עָנָן ... וְזָכַרְתִּי *when I bring clouds ... I will remember my covenant,* Lev. 26. 26, Jos. 2. 14. Gen. 3. 5 בְּיוֹם אֲכָלְכֶם מִמֶּנּוּ וְנִפְקְחוּ עֵינֵיכֶם *in the day you eat of it, your eyes shall be opened,* Ex. 32. 34. Deu. 20. 2 כְּקָרְבְּכֶם ... וְנִגַּשׁ *when you draw near ...* the priest *shall approach,* Gen. 44. 30-31. With YIQTOL in apod., Nu. 35. 19 בְּפִגְעוֹ־בוֹ הוּא יְמִתֶנּוּ *when he meets him, he shall put him to death.* Causal: Is. 37. 29 יַעַן הִתְרַגְּזְךָ אֵלַי ... וְשַׂמְתִּי *because you have raged against me ... I will put* my hook in your nose, Jer. 7. 13-14. Cf. Am. 1. 3-4. With YIQTOL in apod., Is. 30. 12-13 לָכֵן ... יַעַן מָאַסְכֶם יִהְיֶה לָכֶם הֶעָוֹן הַזֶּה *because you depise ... therefore this iniquity shall be to you* like, etc. With juss. in apod., 1 S. 24. 11-12 יִשְׁפֹּט י׳ ... בְּכָרְתִי *in that I cut off ... may Y. judge* between me and you.

(*d*) So following a great variety of temporal, causal and other expressions, some very briefly expressed. Hos. 1. 4 עוֹד מְעַט וּפָקַדְתִּי yet a little while, *and I will visit;* and often with עוֹד, Ex. 17. 4, Is. 10. 25; 21. 16 בְּעוֹד שָׁנָה וְכָלָה within a year *there shall come to an end;* 29. 17; cf. 16. 14 בִּשְׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים. Ex. 16. 6 עֶרֶב וִידַעְתֶּם at evening *you shall know,* cf.

Nu. 16. 5 (with, unusually, *Vav apodosi* preceding YIQTOL) בֹּקֶר וְיֹדַע י׳ in the morning *Y. will show.* 1 K. 13. 31 בְּמוֹתִי וּקְבַרְתֶּם אֹתִי when I am dead, *bury me.* Is. 18. 5 לִפְנֵי קָצִיר ... וְכָרַת before the harvest ... *he will cut off.* After הִנֵּה, Nu. 14. 40 הִנֶּנּוּ וְעָלִינוּ see, we are here, *and we will go up,* Jer. 23. 39. 1 S. 2. 31 הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים וְגָדַעְתִּי behold, days are coming *when I will cut down.* Commonly after extraposed subj. or obj. (*casus pendens*), Is. 9. 4 כִּי כָל־סְאוֹן סֹאֵן ... וְהָיְתָה for every boot of the tramping soldier ... *shall be* for burning; 10. 26 וּמַטֵּהוּ עַל־הַיָּם וְנָשָׂאוֹ and his rod upon the sea, *he shall lift it up,* Nu. 14. 24, 31, 1 S. 25. 27. Ps. 25. 11 לְמַעַן שִׁמְךָ י׳ וְסָלַחְתָּ for your name's sake, Y., *pardon.*

(*e*) Finally, *Vav* cons. QATAL may be used loosely following various independent clauses (or their equivalents); some of these may be resolved into causal or other clauses with in effect *Vav apodosi,* but in others the logical connection is not obvious and the clauses simply provide the starting-point of a new development. Gen. 20. 11 there is no fear of God in this place וְהָרָגוּנִי *and they will kill me.* 26. 10 one of the people might easily have lain with your wife וְהֵבֵאתָ *and you would have brought guilt upon us. Vs.* 22 for now Y. has made room for us וּפָרִינוּ *and we shall be fruitful* in the land. Ex. 6. 6 I am Y. וְהוֹצֵאתִי *and I will bring you out.* Deu. 6. 4-5 Y. is your God, Y. alone (§ 49, R. 3) וְאָהַבְתָּ *and you shall love* Y. your God; cf. 10. 15-16. Jud. 11. 8 now we turn to you וְהָלַכְתָּ *and do you go with us.* 13. 3 you are barren and have no children וְהָרִית *but you shall conceive.* 16. 2 until the light of morning וְהָרַגְנֻהוּ *then we shall kill him.* 1 S. 15. 28 Y. has today torn the kingdom of I. from you וּנְתָנָהּ *and will give it* to a neighbour of yours. 2 S. 14. 7 they have said ... וְכִבּוּ *and (thus) they would quench* my coal which is left. Is. 5. 8 until there is no place וְהוֹשַׁבְתֶּם *and you are made to dwell* alone. 6. 7 this has touched your lips וְסָר *and your guilt is taken away.* Ez. 13. 6 Y. has not sent them וְיִחֲלוּ *yet they expect* him to fulfil their word. Am. 5. 27 you shall take up Sakkuth your king ... וְהִגְלֵיתִי *therefore I will take you into exile.* Pr. 6. 11 a little sleep ... וּבָא *and poverty will come upon you.* 9. 14 a foolish woman is noisy ... וְיָשְׁבָה *so she sits* at the door of her house. Ru. 1. 11 have I yet sons in my womb וְהָיוּ *who will become* your husbands? 3. 9 I am R. your maidservant וּפָרַשְׂתָּ *so do you spread* your skirt, etc.

§ 72. The usages of *Vav* cons. QATAL in discourse (descriptive, predictive or prescriptive) and narrative in general follow the pattern of

§71. The cons. form does not normally occur at the beginning of a passage or, if it is of any length, of significant subdivisions of it, but is a continuation form which is set in motion (as in § 71) by some kind of statement of time, circumstance or intention, etc., or (as in § 73) by the first action, but with the subject coming first followed by YIQTOL; and thoughout the discourse or narrative it in effect follows other *Vav* cons. QATALs. These carry forward the main sequence of the passage, "off-line" statements, e.g. with a negative or a fronted subj. or obj., being non-consecutive or halting the sequence, be it only slightly, to focus attention on a particular person or thing and therefore having the appropriate YIQTOL or imper. or juss. verb. Illumine from the predictive passages Deu. 18. 17-20, introduced by a statement giving the reason for Yahweh's actions and Is. 2. 2-4, introduced by וְהָיָה (see below) and a statement of time; and from the prescriptive passages Ex. 26ff. where the main fittings to be made for the Tabernacle are highlighted by being mentioned first in the clause, Deu. 6. 4-9 beginning with a command, and Ez. 4. 1-8 where the extraposed pronouns אַתָּה and אֲנִי introduce the main instructions to the prophet and the main intentions of Yahweh. In these passages veQATAL, though having its own aspectual nuance, correlates with YIQTOL with fut. indic. or volitive meaning. Descriptive passages in which YIQTOL indicates a process or sequence in the pres. mainly occur in poetry (e.g. Proverbs) and because of the parallelism veQATAL is frugally used, but cf. Jer. 17. 5-8, beginning with a curse formula. Much commoner are passages set in past time in which veQATAL correlates with frequentative YIQTOL, as Ex. 33. 7-11, which has fronted subjects in *vss.* 7-8 identifying the participants and וְהָיָה with a temporal clause in *vs.* 9 introducing the main course of events. For further exx. see § 63, 64 (on the role of YIQTOL in such passages).

The formula וְהָיָה often associated with such passages is significant. It may introduce the chief initial action after an intervening circumstantial or temporal clause of the kind noted in § 71; but in longer passages it can also have an important macro-syntactic role, identifying not only a main event but any important development of it and thus structuring the passage, particularly in terms of time. Like its counterpart וַיְהִי from the other conjugation, it is impersonal and essentially a linking word,

with function but no real meaning; and it gives way, after the accompanying clause or phrase, either to veQATAL or, without the *Vav*, to YIQTOL.

Thus in fut. contexts, in single statements, 1 S. 3. 9 לֵךְ שְׁכָב וְהָיָה אִם־יִקְרָא אֵלֶיךָ וְאָמַרְתָּ go, lie down; *and it shall be, if he call you, you shall say.* Gen. 27. 40; 44. 31, Jud. 4. 20, 1 S. 16. 16, 1 K. 1. 21. In longer passages with וְהָיָה introducing a new development, Ex. 22. 24-26 (prohibiting usury and the taking of a debtor's garment overnight) וְהָיָה כִּי־יִצְעַק אֵלַי וְשָׁמַעְתִּי *if (then) he cries out to me, I will listen.* Gen. 9. 9-16 (*vs.* 14), Deu. 6. 4-15 (*vs.* 10); 17. 14-20 (*vs.* 18), 1 K. 11. 31-39 (*vs.* 38), Is. 14. 1-3 (*vs.* 3). But וְהָיָה is not always used where one might expect it, Is. 11. 1-9 (e.g. at *vs.* 6); 28. 5 (with *in that day*), Am. 8. 11-14 (at *vs.* 13). And YIQTOL is often used instead of veQATAL, Gen. 4. 14 וְהָיָה כָּל־ מֹצְאִי יַהַרְגֵנִי *and (it shall happen that) anyone who finds me shall slay me;* 1 K. 2. 37 יָדֹעַ תֵּדַע ... וְהָיָה בְּיוֹם צֵאתְךָ *for (it shall happen that) on the day you go out ... you shall know for certain.* 1 S. 2. 36; 17. 25, 2 S. 15. 35, 1 K. 19. 17, 2 K. 4. 10, Is. 2. 2; 10. 27; 27. 6, Hos. 2. 23.

In past contexts, in single statements, Jud. 19. 30 וְהָיָה כָל־הָרֹאֶה וְאָמַר *then all who saw (it) used to say.* 1 S. 16. 23, 2 S. 14. 25; 15. 5, Am. 4. 7-8. In longer passages describing past events that were customary or habitual, Jud. 6. 2-3 the hand of Midian was strong against Israel ... וְהָיָה אִם־זָרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעָלָה מ׳ *and (it used to happen that) whenever I. sowed crops,* M. etc. *would come up,* etc. Gen. 30. 41-42. But oftener וְהָיָה is not used, Gen. 29. 3, 1 S. 17. 34-36; and indeed, since the context is past, וַיְהִי may replace וְהָיָה , the passage moving in and out of normal narrative; thus in 1 S. 1.4 וַיְהִי is continued by *Vav* cons. QATAL while in Jud. 6. 2ff. וְהָיָה is continued in *vs.* 3 by *Vav* cons. QATAL and in *vs.* 4 by *Vav* cons. YIQTOL. 12. 5-6, 1 S. 2. 16. And YIQTOL is often used instead of veQATAL, Ex. 33. 7 (יֵצֵא), 8 (יָקוּמוּ), 9 (יֵרֵד).

Rem. 1. Occasionally *Vav* cons. QATAL seems to begin a completely new passage, but there is always a wider context. Thus 1 K. 9. 25 וְהֶעֱלָה ש׳ *S. sacrificed* three times a year, has no connection with the previous verses, but it comes in a ch. which summarises the king's various activities; and Is. 2. 2ff וְהָיָה בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָמִים *it will happen in the latter days,* etc., though it is preceded by an editor's rubric, has behind it the general background of the prophet's preaching. Even introduced by כֹּה אָמַר, Ez. 11. 17; 17. 22. Such

apparent new beginnings are even commoner in the case of וַיְהִי (§ 80, R. 3); it is a mistake, however, to think of the cons. forms acquiring a status of their own independent of what precedes them.

Rem. 2. Both וְהָיָה and its counterpart וַיְהִי are, as impersonal forms, to be distinguished from normal uses of the verb in its senses *to be, become* with subj. and complement, cf. Is. 29. 4, 5, 7. In a few passages, however, the *Vav* cons. QATAL is exceptionally brought into agreement with the subj., Nu. 5. 27, Jer. 42. 16; cf. *vs.* 17.

Rem. 3. In Is. 40. 6 וְאָמַר need not be emended to וְאֹמַר *and I said;* the clause attracts its frequ. sense from the previous ptcp. The picture is one of angels passing the message of God's salvation from the heavenly court down to Jerusalem, and in such a picture the intrusion of the prophet does not fit; render *a voice was saying, Cry, and (another) was saying, What shall I cry?* Cf. the similar context in 6. 3 וְקָרָא זֶה אֶל־זֶה וְאָמַר *and one cried* (continuously) *to another and said.*

Rem. 4. Other macrosyntactic devices used in discourse are (וְ)הִנֵּה and וְעַתָּה. As וְהָיָה plots (chiefly) the time scale of a discourse, (וְ)הִנֵּה signals a dramatic or noteworthy development and וְעַתָּה introduces a corollary of what has happened and leads to a fresh statement of intent, command, etc. They may occur in an extended speech or in smaller portions of an ongoing conversation. (וְ)הִנֵּה may draw attention either to something that has happened or to something that is about to happen.

Exx. of (וְ)הִנֵּה referring to past or pres., Gen. 27. 6 הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְתִּי *behold, I heard* your father speaking to Esau; 1 S. 14. 33 הִנֵּה הָעָם חֹטְאִים *behold, the people are sinning* against Y. Ex. 1. 9, 1 K. 20. 31; 22. 13. Referring to fut., Ex. 7. 17 הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי מַכֶּה *behold, I will strike.* 4. 23, Deu. 31. 17, 1 S. 3. 11 and frequently in prophs., Is. 3. 1; 10. 33; 13. 17; 22. 17; 24. 1; 29. 14; 43. 19, Jer. 8. 17, Am. 4. 2; 8. 11. Exx. of וְעַתָּה, Isa. 5. 5 וְעַתָּה אוֹדִיעָה־נָּא *so now I will tell;* cf. *vs.* 3. Gen. 27. 3, 8; 30. 30; 37. 20; 44. 30, 33; 45. 8, Is. 36. 8; 52. 5, Ps. 2. 10; 39. 8. In many passages the two particles are found together, Gen. 3. 22 הֵן *behold,* the man has become like one of us ... וְעַתָּה *and now* ...; 12. 19, Ex. 3. 9-10, Jos. 14. 10, 1 S. 12. 2-3, 1 K. 1. 18, Job 16. 19.

In addition to וְהָיָה, (וְ)הִנֵּה and וְעַתָּה, an extraposed subj. or obj. may set boundaries to or within a piece of discourse. At the beginning, Is. 27. 2 כֶּרֶם חֶמֶר *a fruitful vineyard* - sing of it, Gen. 17. 4, 15, Nu. 22. 11. Introducing a new topic, Lev. 26. 35 (the previous *vss.* were speaking of the land), Gen. 47. 21, Nu. 14. 31. Closing a speech, 1 S. 20. 23. § 149. Such markers combine with circumstantial clauses, subordinate clauses and other "off-line" features to delineate the inner structure of a discourse and deserve to be more carefully studied than they usually are. Narrative structure is not dissimilar; it employs וַיְהִי instead of וְהָיָה and also uses הִנֵּה and extraposition, but וְעַתָּה is confined to discourse. § 80.

§ 73. To be distinguished from those many cases, as in § 71, 72, where veQATAL follows a previous clause or phrase or, as in extended discourse, another veQATAL are those cases, equally many, where it follows an antecedent YIQTOL or its equivalent. In the former veQATAL begins (and continues) the sequence while in the latter it merely continues a sequence which is begun by YIQTOL. There are instances from § 71 where a discourse may open with an introductory statement which as well as preparing the scene also describes the first event or situation and which therefore, as in a clause with fronted subj., contains YIQTOL; and such statements may also occur within a discourse identifying or emphasizing the presence of a participant or some object, causing a pause and in effect having a macrosyntactic role of sorts (see further § 72, R. 4). But apart from these and other cases of noun-verb order (e.g. in a circumstantial clause proper; see § 135ff.) veQATAL in discourse only directly follows YIQTOL in dependent (subordinate) clauses or in independent clauses that begin with a negative or other adverb or a particle like אוּלַי *perhaps* or that ask a question or (with the modal verb coming first) that give a command, express an intention, etc. In all such cases the antecedent YIQTOL or its equivalent may have any of the normal indicative, frequentative or modal meanings associated with that conjugation; but, it should again be stressed, these values are not transferred to the succeeding veQATAL, though it may seem that way in Engl. translation.

§ 74. In the aforementioned kinds of context *Vav* cons. QATAL continues YIQTOL

(*a*) in the sense of fut. indic. (§ 64*a*). With subj. first, Is. 49. 7 מְלָכִים יִרְאוּ וְקָמוּ kings shall see *and arise.* Following לָכֵן, Hos. 2. 11 לָכֵן אָשׁוּב וְלָקַחְתִּי therefore I will return *and take.* Or כִּי *surely,* Jud. 6. 16 surely I will be with you וְהִכִּיתָ *and you will smite.* In circumst. clause, Ex. 4. 12 וְאָנֹכִי אֶהְיֶה עִם־פִּיךָ וְהוֹרִיתִיךָ and (while) I will be with your mouth *and will teach you.* Gen. 18. 18. With interr., Ex. 2. 7 הַאֵלֵךְ וְקָרָאתִי shall I go *and call?* Jud. 15. 18, 1 S. 23. 2, Ru. 1. 11. Within various subord. clauses. With אִם, Ex. 19. 5 if you will indeed obey my voice וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם *and keep* my covenant. Gen. 28. 20, 1 S. 1. 11, Jer. 3. 1. With כִּי *that,* 2 K. 5. 11 I thought that he would surely come out to me וְעָמַד *and stand* etc. With כִּי *when,* Deu. 31. 20 when I bring them into

the land ... וְאָכַל *and they eat*, etc. With כִּי *for, because*, Jer. 22. 10 for he shall no more return וְרָאָה *and see*. Is. 13. 7-9. With אֲשֶׁר, Deu. 2. 25 (the people) who shall hear ... וְרָגְזוּ *and shall tremble* etc. Jud. 1. 12 whoever attacks Kiriath Sepher וּלְכָדָהּ *and captures it*. Gen. 24. 14, 1 S. 17. 26. With (אֲשֶׁר) עַד, Is. 32. 15 until the Spirit is poured upon us from on high וְהָיָה *and* the wilderness *becomes*. Gen. 29. 8, Jer. 13. 16, Hos. 5. 15.

(*b*) in the modal and contingent senses mentioned § 64*c*, *d*. *E.g.* of volition, 1 S. 17. 32 עַבְדְּךָ יֵלֵךְ וְנִלְחַם your servant will go *and fight*. Of command, Ex. 20. 24 מִזְבַּח אֲדָמָה תַּעֲשֶׂה־לִּי וְזָבַחְתָּ an altar of earth shall you make me, *and sacrifice* upon it; *vs.* 9. With אוּלַי, Gen. 27. 12 אוּלַי יְמֻשֵּׁנִי וְהָיִיתִי perhaps he may feel me, *and I shall be* as one that mocks him. 2 K. 19. 4, Nu. 22. 11, 2 S. 16. 12. With interrog., 2 K. 14. 10 וְלָמָּה תִתְגָּרֶה בְרָעָה וְנָפַלְתָּה why should you provoke misfortune *and fall?* Jer. 40. 15. Gen. 39. 9 ... וְחָטָאתִי אֵיךְ אֶעֱשֶׂה how should I do this great evil *and sin!* With כִּי *that*, Gen. 37. 26 what gain כִּי נַהֲרֹג אֶת־אָחִינוּ וְכִסִּינוּ אֶת־דָּמוֹ that we should kill our brother *and cover* his blood? Following telic particles, Gen. 32. 12 פֶּן־יָבוֹא וְהִכַּנִי lest he come *and smite me*. Is. 28. 13 לְמַעַן יֵלְכוּ וְכָשְׁלוּ וְנִשְׁבְּרוּ that they may go, *and fall and be broken*. With וְלֹא *that not*, Deu. 19. 10; 23. 15. — Gen. 3. 22; 19. 19, Ex. 1. 10, Deu. 4. 16, 19; 6. 15, 1 S. 9. 5, Is. 6. 10, Hos. 2. 5, Am. 5. 6. — Gen. 12. 13, Nu. 15. 40, Deu. 4. 1; 6. 18.

Rem. 1. It is rare that YIQTOL with simple *Vav* is used instead of veQATAL, as Ps. 2. 12 פֶּן־יֶאֱנַף וְתֹאבְדוּ lest he be angry *and you perish*. In most of the cases the verbs are parallel, Is. 40. 27 (לָמָּה); Ex. 23. 12, Is. 41. 20 (לְמַעַן). To be distinguished from YIQTOL (juss.) to express purpose. § 84, 86.

Rem. 2. *Vav* cons. QATAL may continue QATAL when it occurs in a fut. context, following the sense rather than the grammar. So commonly after "performative" QATAL (§ 57*b*), Gen. 17. 20 הִנֵּה בֵּרַכְתִּי אֹתוֹ וְהִפְרֵיתִי אֹתוֹ I bless him *and make him fruitful*. Jer. 31. 33. And sometimes after "prophetic" QATAL, Is. 43. 14 שִׁלַּחְתִּי בָבֶלָה וְהוֹרַדְתִּי I will send to B. *and bring down*. 2. 11; 5. 14. With interr. expressing surprise, Jud. 9. 9. § 59*b*, R. 1.

§ 75. In the appropriate contexts *Vav* cons. QATAL continues YIQTOL expressing what is customary or general (freq.) in pres. or past (§ 63). (*a*) Gen. 2. 24 ... עַל־כֵּן יַעֲזָב־אִישׁ וְדָבַק therefore a man leaves his father and mother *and cleaves* to his wife. Hos. 7. 7 כִּי כֻלָּם יֵחַמּוּ

כַּתַּנּוּר וְאָכְלוּ for they all get heated like an oven, *and devour* their judges. Is. 36. 6 אֲשֶׁר יִסָּמֵךְ אִישׁ עָלָיו וּבָא בְכַפּוֹ on which one leans, *and it goes* into his hand. Am. 5. 19 כַּאֲשֶׁר יָנוּס אִישׁ מִפְּנֵי הָאֲרִי וּפְגָעוֹ הַדֹּב as a man flees from a lion, *and a bear meets him.* Ex. 18. 16, Lev. 20. 18, Is. 29. 8, 11, 12, Jer. 17. 5-8; 20. 9, Ez. 29. 7, Mic. 2. 1, Ps. 90. 6, Pr. 4. 16; 18. 10, 17.

(*b*) In the past, though this usage is commoner in extended passages. Gen. 2. 6 וְהִשְׁקָה ... וְעֵד יַעֲלֶה but a mist used to go up *and water.* 6. 4 וְגַם אַחֲרֵי־כֵן אֲשֶׁר יָבֹאוּ בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים ... וְיָלְדוּ and also afterwards when the sons of God went into the daughters of men, *and they bore children* to them. 1 S. 2. 19, 20 and a little robe תַּעֲשֶׂה־לּוֹ אִמּוֹ וְהַעֲלְתָה לוֹ his mother used to make for him, *and bring it up* to him every year. Gen. 29. 2, 3; 31. 8, Ex. 17. 11, Deu. 11. 10, 1 K. 18. 10.

§ 76. *Vav* cons. QATAL continues verbal forms belonging to the sphere of YIQTOL or, in context, equivalent to it in meaning, as (*a*) imper., cohort., juss.; (*b*) infin.; (*c*) ptcp.

(*a*) In discrete commands, requests, etc. Imper., 1 S. 8. 22 שְׁמַע בְּקוֹלָם וְהַמְלַכְתָּ listen to their voice *and appoint a king;* 1 K. 2. 31 פְּגַע־בּוֹ וּקְבַרְתּוֹ fall upon him *and bury him.* Gen. 6. 14; 19. 2; 45. 19, Ex. 14. 13, 1 S. 12. 24; 15. 18, 2 S. 19. 34, 1 K. 2. 36; 17. 13, Jer. 25. 15. So after inf. abs. as imper. (§ 103), Deu. 1. 16; 31. 26, Jer. 32. 14. Cohort., Gen. 31. 44 נִכְרְתָה בְרִית וְהָיָה לְעֵד let us make a covenant *and let it be a witness;* 12. 3, Jud. 19. 13, Ru. 2. 7. After juss., Ex. 5. 7 הֵם יֵלְכוּ וְקֹשְׁשׁוּ let them go themselves *and gather straw.* Gen. 1. 14; 28. 3, 1 K. 1. 2; 22. 13.

(*b*) Infin. - In reference to fut., 2 K. 18. 32 עַד־בֹּאִי וְלָקַחְתִּי till I come *and take;* Ex. 7. 5 the Egyptians will know that I am Y. בִּנְטֹתִי אֶת־יָדִי עַל־מִצְ׳ וְהוֹצֵאתִי when I stretch my hand over Egypt *and bring forth.* Gen. 27. 45, Ex. 1. 16, Jud. 6. 18, 1 S. 10. 8, 1 K. 2. 42. So inf. abs. for finite verb, Is. 5. 5; 31. 5. After infin. in frequentative sense, Am. 1. 11 עַל־רָדְפוֹ אָחִיו וְשִׁחֵת רַחֲמָיו because he pursued his brother *and stifled his compassion;* Jer. 7. 9, 10 הֲגָנֹב רָצֹחַ וְנָאֹף ... וּבָאתֶם do you steal, murder, commit adultery ... *and then come and stand* before me? 23. 14.

(*c*) Ptcp. - In refer. to fut., Ex. 7. 17 הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי מַכֶּה ... וְנֶהְפְּכוּ לְדָם behold I will strike the waters ... *and they shall be turned* into blood. So *vss.* 27, 28; 8. 17; 17. 6, Deu. 4. 22, Jos. 1. 13, 1 S. 14. 8, 1 K. 2. 2; 13. 2, 3;

20. 36, Jer. 21. 9; 25. 9. So following a ptcp. equivalent to a contingent clause, Ex. 21. 12 מַכֵּה אִישׁ וָמֵת anyone who strikes a man *and he dies; vs.* 16. Nu. 21. 8, 2 S. 17. 17, Is. 29. 15, Am. 6. 7, Hab. 2. 12.

VAV CONSECUTIVE YIQTOL

§ 77. The YIQTOL in *Vav* cons. YIQTOL is related to short YIQTOL and the construction is formally recognised, therefore, by the shorter forms which the verb assumes in certain paradigms (§ 61, R. 1); and it is further identified by the *Pathah* vowel after the *Vav* and the doubling of the first consonant of the verb (with the usual modifications when this consonant is א or י with *Sheva*).

Rem. 1. In the paradigms where a shortened form is possible, there is a tendency also for the stress to be retracted, thus וַיָּ֫שָׁב *and he returned* over against juss. יָ֫שָׁב *let him return* (though retraction may sometimes occur with the juss. too). Cf. short YIQTOL תָּ֫שָׁב (Ps. 90. 3).

§ 78. The short YIQTOL in *Vav* cons. YIQTOL denotes a "simple" action, and the *Vav* links it as chronologically and sometimes logically sequential to something that has gone before. Its aspectual quality is more readily appreciated as independent when A) the antecedent is an introductory clause or phrase which sets a series of *Vav* cons. YIQTOLs in motion than when B) (§§ 81ff.) it follows a prior QATAL which is itself part of such a series. In context A, however, it may be replaced by QATAL, showing a compatibility, therefore, with certain values of that conjugation, but significantly these do not include the values which in the *Vav* cons. QATAL construction are compatible with long YIQTOL. In effect the "simple" action denoted by VAYYIQTOL is often but not necessarily punctual (see § 62*a* and the exx. there where the action may last a considerable time) but it is not iterative or modal (though in certain cases it may attract a modal nuance from its context). It should also be noted that in context B, though very largely in poetry, *Vav* cons. YIQTOL may continue an antecedent YIQTOL, short or long, another indication that its meaning is not controlled by QATAL.

In addition to expressing what is consequential or simply successive in time, *Vav* cons. YIQTOL has in a number of passages what may be

called an *explanatory* or *interpretative* function, a function not obviously carried by its counterpart *Vav* cons. QATAL. In these passages the event or fact expressed by *Vav* cons. YIQTOL may be identical with the preceding event, or synchronous with it, or even anterior to it. Gen. 40. 23 וַיִּשְׁכָּחֵהוּ ... לֹא זָכַר he did not remember Joseph *but forgot him;* Jud. 16. 10 הֵתַלְתְּ בִּי וַתְּדַבֵּר אֵלַי כְּזָבִים you have cheated me, *and told* me lies. So in essence the common וַיֹּאמֶר *saying*, after a verb of speaking and with direct speech following. Frequently after עָשָׂה *to do*, 1 K. 18. 13 וְאַחְבֵּא ... אֵת אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי what I did when ..., *how I hid.* Gen. 31. 26, Ex. 1. 18; 19. 4, Jud. 9. 16, 1 S. 8. 8, 1 K. 2. 5, 2 Chr. 2. 2, cf. Neh. 13. 17. Spelling out the details or import of a previous clause, Gen. 36. 14 these are the sons of O., daughter of A. ... וַתֵּלֶד לְעֵשָׂו : *she bore* to Esau J., J. and K.; 1 S. 15. 17 are you not the head of the tribes of Isr.? וַיִּמְשָׁחֲךָ יְ׳ *Y. anointed you* king over Isr.; 2 S. 14. 5 I am a widow וַיָּמָת אִישִׁי, my husband *is dead;* Job 10. 22 to a land of darkness etc. וַתְּפַע כְּמוֹ־ אֹפֶל *and the light* is (lit. *it* [impers.] *shines*) as dark. So *Vav* cons. YIQTOL in its role of summing up the result of a preceding narrative, Jud. 3. 30 וַתִּכָּנַע מוֹאָב *so* Moab *was subdued;* Gen. 2. 1; 23. 20, Jos. 5. 9, Jud. 8. 28.

Rem. 1. Though it has been strenuously denied (Driver), it seems an extension of this explanatory usage when in a few passages *Vav* cons. YIQTOL refers to something that happened before the events being described and calls, therefore, for a transl. with a pluperf. in Engl. Ex. 4. 19 וַיֹּאמֶר יְ׳ אֶל־מֹשֶׁה בְּמִדְיָן *now* Y. *had said* to M. in Midian (he had been instructed to return to Egypt before he had gone back to Jethro, *vs.* 18). 1 K. 13. 12 וַיִּרְאוּ *and* his sons *had seen* the way which the man of God had taken (unless we point as Hiph., i.e. *and his sons showed* (him)). Nu. 1. 48, 1 S. 14. 24, Is. 38. 21, 22; 39. 1, Jer. 39. 11, Zech. 7. 2, Neh. 2. 9. This usage is to be distinguished from that in § 81*b*, where *Vav* cons. YIQTOL continues a QATAL form with plupf. nuance.

§ 79. In usage A *Vav* cons. YIQTOL follows clauses or equivalent phrases or even single words which supply the ground or occasion of the development which it describes. The time setting, usually past or pres., occasionally future, comes from the context. Thus *Vav* cons. YIQTOL begins the main clause after a temporal or causal clause or its equivalent. Hos. 11. 1 כִּי נַעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל וָאֹהֲבֵהוּ when I. was a child, *I loved him.* Ps.

138. 3 בְּיוֹם קָרָאתִי וַתַּעֲנֵנִי in the day I called *you answered me.* Gen. 19. 15. Is. 6. 1 בִּשְׁנַת־מוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ ע׳ וָאֶרְאֶה in the year that king Uzziah died *I saw* the Lord. Hos. 13. 6. 2 S. 11. 12-13 וּמִמָּחֳרָת וַיִּקְרָא־לוֹ ד׳ and on the morrow David *invited him.* Causal: 1 S. 15. 23 ... יַעַן מָאַסְתָּ וַיִּמְאָסְךָ because you have rejected the word of Y., *he has rejected you.* Nu. 14. 16, Is. 45. 4. 1 K. 10. 9 בְּאַהֲבַת י׳ ... וַיְשִׂימְךָ because Y. loved Israel ... *he has made you* king. Is. 48. 4-5. For exx. with QATAL instead of VAYYIQTOL see § 74, R. 2. *Vav* cons. YIQTOL is rare in apodosis of condit. clause, Ps. 59. 16 אִם־לֹא יִשְׂבְּעוּ וְיָלִינוּ if they are not satisfied, *they tarry all night.* Job 36. 8-9. Cf. Pr. 25. 4 remove dross from silver וְיֵצֵא *and* a vessel *comes out* for the smith.

After a question, Is. 51. 12 who are you וַתִּירְאִי *that you are afraid* of man who dies? Ps. 144. 3 (contrast 8. 5 with כִּי). After nominal clause, 1 Chr. 7. 24 his daughter was Sh. וַתִּבֶן *who built* Beth-horon; Ps. 118. 27 Y. is God וַיָּאֶר לָנוּ *he has given* (or, *gives*) us *light.* Hab. 3. 19, Pr. 30. 25. After various kinds of clause or equivalent, sometimes with a connection that is not easy to specify. Gen. 32. 31 I have seen God face to face וַתִּנָּצֵל נַפְשִׁי *yet* my life *is preserved.* Jud. 2. 21 which Jos. left וַיָּמֹת *when he died.* Ps. 55. 18 evening and morning and at noon I complain and moan וַיִּשְׁמַע *but he will hear* my voice; cf. *vs.* 20. Jer. 38. 9 in that they have cast him into the cistern וַיָּמָת *and he is like to die.* Hos. 13. 6 כְּמַרְעִיתָם וַיִּשְׂבָּעוּ the more their pasture, *the more they ate themselves full.* Job 2. 3 he is still holding fast his integrity וַתְּסִיתֵנִי בוֹ *although you incited me* against him.

Commonly after extraposed subj. or obj., Gen. 22. 24 ... וּפִילַגְשׁוֹ וְגַם אֶת־מ׳ וַתֵּלֶד and his concubine, whose name was R., *bore.* 1 K. 15. 13 אִמּוֹ וַיְסִרֶהָ מִגְּבִירָה and also Maacha his mother *he removed* from being dowager. Nu. 14. 36-37, 1 K. 12. 17, 2 K. 16. 14, Jer. 6. 19. After הִנֵּה, Nu. 22. 11.

§ 80. Narrative prose follows the pattern of usage A. The narrative usually opens with a statement of circumstance, the subj. coming first, or a statement of time, with or without an impersonal (§ 72, R. 2) וַיְהִי. Jud. 11. 1 וְיִפְתָּח הַגִּלְעָדִי הָיָה גִּבּוֹר חַיִל *now Jephthah* the Gil. was a mighty warrior, etc. Gen. 4. 1; 12. 10; 37. 2, 1 S. 28. 3. Gen. 6. 1 וַיְהִי כִּי־הֵחֵל הָאָדָם לָרֹב *(and it happened) when* men began to multiply, etc. 27. 1. Jud. 15. 1 וַיְהִי מִיָּמִים בִּימֵי קְצִיר־חִטִּים *(and it happened) one day* at

harvest time. 16. 4. Without וַיְהִי, Gen. 15. 1, Is. 6. 1. The story line begins thereafter with *Vav* cons. YIQTOL and is continued with other *Vav* cons. YIQTOLs, identifying the main successive events. Thus in Gen. 24, after the circumst. clause in *vs.* 1, there follow 2 וַיֹּאמֶר ... 5 וַיֹּאמֶר ... 9 וַיִּשְׁבַּע ... וַיָּשֶׂם ... 10 וַיִּקַּח ... וַיֵּלֶךְ ... וַיָּקָם וַיֵּלֶךְ etc., the first major break coming at *vs.* 15 with a time clause introduced by וַיְהִי succeeded by a clause with הִנֵּה and at *vs.* 16 with two circumst. clauses beginning with the subj. describing Rebekah's beauty before, halfway through the latter verse, the narrative resumes with וַתֵּרֶד *and she came* down to the well - or rather, וַתֵּרֶד tells what Rebekah did and is a continuation of the temporal and הִנֵּה clauses in *vs.* 15, comprising a subsidiary narrative with the main narrative taking up again in *vs.* 17 with the action and words of Abraham's servant. These three "off-line" constructions, often clustering together, show the kind of interruption that can take place within the narrative flow: וַיְהִי punctuates the narrative timewise, as later in *vss.* 22, 30 and 52 (cf. 12. 11, 14, Jud. 16. 16, 25); וְהִנֵּה is also macrosyntactic and introduces an unexpected or important new happening, often with a ptcp. but sometimes otherwise, as later in *vss.* 30, 45 and 63 (cf. Gen. 1. 31; 6. 12, Ex. 2. 6, Jud. 11. 34); and the circumst. clause is microsyntactic and describes a concomitant state of affairs, as later in *vss.* 29, 45 and 62 (cf. 15. 2, 1 S. 4. 12). These particular circumst. clauses (except the second one in *vs.* 16) are nominal or contain a ptcp. but others have QATAL, giving background information, on the story line or prior to it, as the second one in *vs.* 16 וְאִישׁ לֹא יְדָעָהּ a virgin whom no man *had known*, cf. Gen. 3. 1; 31. 34. A subordinate clause with QATAL may serve the same purpose, Gen. 6. 6 Y. was sorry כִּי־עָשָׂה *that he had made* man; 28. 11 כִּי־בָא *because* the sun *had gone down*.

Other macrosyntactic signals are given by וְהָיָה or *Vav* cons. QATAL introducing repeated or customary action (§ 72) or by extraposition or subj.-verb (circumst.) order, introducing or reintroducing a character, e.g. the men of Israel in 1 S. 17. 24 (extrapos.), Elisha in 2 K. 9. 1 (subj. first); or concluding an episode, e.g. the people who were left in 2 K. 25. 22 (extrapos.), all Israel in 2 S. 18. 17 (subj. first). *Vav* cons. YIQTOL in its "explanatory" use may also be employed to sum up a narrative (§ 78). Within a narrative subj.- or obj.-verb order also has micro-

syntactic uses, e.g. in circumst. clauses, Ex. 9. 23 and Moses stretched forth his rod ... וַיהוה נָתַן *while Y.* sent thunder and hail, cf. 10. 13; 1 K. 19. 3-4 and he left his servant there וְהוּא הָלַךְ *but he himself* went into the desert, 2 K. 5. 24-25. So in a chiasmus, Gen. 1. 5 וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לָאוֹר ... וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא ... and God *called the light* day, and *the darkness he called* night; 4. 4-5. Note that where in such examples QATAL occurs in the second clause, it is not continued by a successive *Vav* cons. YIQTOL; rather the latter continues the *Vav* cons. YIQTOL in the first clause and QATAL marks an off-line (simultaneous) situation. Similarly in many of the exx. cited earlier. The roles of QATAL and VAYYIQTOL in narrative prose are thus sharply distinguished. In effect Hebr. narrative may be compared to a journey in which the main route is clearly marked by the sequence of *Vav* cons. YIQTOLs, while the beginning and end and any detours in between are signalled by clauses with QATAL or other equally recognisable constructions.

On the role of QATAL in narrative, including some differences in narrative accounts in discourse and poetry, *see* § 58*b, c, d;* and on the rather looser and more varied structure of extended discourse which, probably for that reason, has not received so much attention as that of narrative, *see* § 72.

Rem. 1. See for variety of usage of וַיְהִי with accompanying time clause or phrase or word and VAYYIQTOL Gen. 12. 11-14; 19. 34; 21. 22; 24. 52; 26. 8; 27. 1; 29. 13; 41. 8, Jud. 1. 14; 11. 4, 1 S. 10. 11; 11. 11 end, 2 S. 2. 23.

Exx. of וַיְהִי succeeded by QATAL, Gen. 40. 1 (and it happened) after these things חָטְאוּ (that) the butler of the king of Eg. and his baker *offended*, Ex. 16. 27, Deu. 9. 11, Jos. 10. 27, 1 S. 18. 30, 1 K. 11. 4; 14. 25; 15. 29; 17. 17. The aspectual difference between (VAYYIQTOL) a consequent action and (QATAL) a consequent state-cum-action, which would be felt in Hebr., cannot be caught in Engl.

Sometimes the secution is *Vav* with the subj. preceding the verb, either introducing what is in effect a circumstance or focussing on the subj. Gen. 15. 12 (and it happened) as the sun was going down וְתַרְדֵּמָה נָפְלָה (*that*) *a deep sleep fell* on Abr.; 22. 1 (and it happened) after these things וְהָאֱלֹהִים נִסָּה *(that) God tested* Abr.; 7. 10, Ex. 12. 29, 1 S. 18. 1, 2 S. 3. 6, 2 K. 2. 9.

Rem. 2. A circumstantial or other off-line statement may be of considerable length and contain within it what is in effect a subsidiary narrative in which VAYYIQTOL may be used. Thus in Jud. 11 *vs.* 1 contains two subj. fronted clauses explaining who Jephthah was and these are followed

by a short narrative telling of his banishment (*vss.* 2 and 3), the whole being preliminary to the main story of his defeat of the Ammonites which begins in *vs.* 4. Cf. 1 S. 30. 1-2 with the main story being resumed in *vs.* 3; Job 1. 1-5 with VAYYIQTOLs in *vss.* 2-3 and *vs.* 5 (a) and veQATALs in *vs.* 4 and *vs.* 5 (b), a mixture of simple and frequentative action, the whole setting the scene for the main story which opens in *vs.* 6. For little off-line stories within a larger narrative and using VAYYIQTOL cf. Gen. 24. 15-16 (above); 31. 34(a), 2 S. 18. 18.

Rem. 3. It is wrong to regard *Vav* cons. YIQTOL as developing an independent status of its own simply because it begins the biblical books of Lev., Nu., 2 K. and 2 Chr. or (in the form of וַיְהִי) those of Jos., Jud., 1 and 2 S., Ez. and Ru. There is always a connection of sorts, obvious or implied, with previous books. The case is no different from apparently independent narratives within books which open in the same way, e.g. Gen. 6. 1, 5; 11. 1; 35. 1, Ex. 12. 1, etc. See further § 72, R. 1.

§ 81. In usage B *Vav* cons. YIQTOL (or a sequence of such) is triggered not by an antecedent clause (or equivalent) but by an antecedent QATAL (or equivalent) which itself begins and is part of a sequence. This kind of sequence is in prose narrative restricted to off-line statements which begin with a fronted subj. or obj. or adv. (including the negative לֹא) or which comprise a subordinate clause, or where QATAL is used appositionally. In discourse and poetry it occurs additionally in narrative reports and accounts which begin with QATAL and more widely in various kinds of discrete clause which begin with a noun or with an interr. or other particle. It is to be noted also that, though almost always in poetry, *Vav* cons. YIQTOL may continue a compatible YIQTOL, be this a short YIQTOL as in narrative passages or a long YIQTOL (as long as it is not used in a freq. or modal sense) elsewhere.

The sequence QATAL-VAYYIQTOL (or on occasion YIQTOL-VAYYIQTOL) occurs in all three temporal frames; thus in the past

(*a*) in passages where it is most naturally rendered by past tenses in Engl. Gen. 3. 13 הַנָּחָשׁ הִשִּׁיאַנִי וָאֹכֵל the serpent deceived me, *and I ate;* 4. 1. In discourse and poetic narrative, 2 S. 3. 23 בָּא אַבְנֵר ... וַיְשַׁלְּחֵהוּ they told Joab, "Abner ... came to the king, *and he let him go*"; Am. 9. 1. With YIQTOL preceding, Ps. 78. 26 יַסַּע ... וַיְנַהֵג he caused the east wind to blow *and led out* the south wind; Deu. 2. 12; 32. 13, 1 K. 20. 33, Ps. 18. 14-15; 95. 10. With neg., Job 3. 10 because לֹא סָגַר he did not shut

the doors of my (mother's) womb וַיַּסְתֵּר *and hide* trouble from my eyes; Jer. 20. 17, Job 32. 3. Within sub. clause, 1 S. 15. 24 because I feared the people וָאֶשְׁמַע *and obeyed* their voice; Nu. 14. 36. With interrog;, Jud. 11. 7 הֲלֹא אַתֶּם שְׂנֵאתֶם אוֹתִי וַתְּגָרְשׁוּנִי did you not hate me, *and drive me away?*

(*b*) in passages where Engl., arguing from the broader context, would use pluperfs. (§ 58). Gen. 39. 13 when she saw כִּי עָזַב בִּגְדּוֹ בְיָדָהּ וַיָּנָס that he had left his garment in her hand *and fled;* 31. 34 ... וְרָחֵל לָקְחָה now R. had taken the Teraphim *and put* them in the camel's saddle ... וַתְּשִׂימֵם *and sat* upon them. Gen. 26. 18-, 27. 1, Nu. 21. 26, Jos. 10. 1, Jud. 4. 11, 1 S. 30. 1, 2, 2 S. 18. 18, 1 K. 2. 41, Is. 39. 1.

(*c*) within conditional clauses (where it is the context, not QATAL, which supplies the modal nuance, § 60). In prot., 1 S. 25. 34 לוּלֵי מִהַרְתְּ וַתָּבֹאִי unless you had made haste *and come;* Ps. 139. 8–11 following YIQTOL וְאֹמַר ... אֶשָּׂא ... אִם־אֶסַּק if I ascend ... (if) I take ... (and if) *I say.* Nu. 5. 27, Job 9. 16. In apod. after כִּי עַתָּה, often with suppressed prot., Ex. 9. 15 for by now שָׁלַחְתִּי אֶת־יָדִי וָאַךְ I could have stretched out my hand *and struck.* In a wish with לוּ, Jos. 7. 7 לוּ הוֹאַלְנוּ וַנֵּשֶׁב would that we had consented *to dwell!*

§ 82. In pres. and fut. contexts *Vav* cons. YIQTOL continues QATAL

(*a*) as in § 57*c* describing a typical experience or a common truth. Is. 40. 24 וְגַם־נָשַׁף בָּהֶם וַיִּבָשׁוּ he blows upon them, *and they wither.* Job 7. 9; 14. 2; 24. 2. So in continuance of a ptcp.with this meaning, Am. 5. 8 הַקּוֹרֵא לְמֵי הַיָּם וַיִּשְׁפְּכֵם who calls the waters of the sea, *and pours* them; 9. 15. Gen. 49. 17, 1 S. 2. 6, Jer. 10. 13, Am. 6. 3; 9. 5, Mic. 7. 3, Nah. 1. 4, Ps. 34. 8; 104. 32, Job 12. 18, 22-25, Pr. 21. 22. So not uncommonly continuing YIQTOL, Job 4. 5 כִּי עַתָּה תָּבוֹא אֵלֶיךָ וַתֵּלֶא but now it reaches you, *and you collapse.* Hos. 8. 13, Ps. 42. 6; 52. 9, Job 6. 21; 7. 17-18; 14. 10.

(*b*) in the sense of Engl. pres. perf. (§ 57*d*), Gen. 3. 17 כִּי שָׁמַעְתָּ לְקוֹל אִשְׁתֶּךָ וַתֹּאכַל because you have obeyed the voice of your wife *and eaten;* Is. 53. 6, Jer. 8. 6, Job 42. 5. With interr., Deu. 4. 33 הֲשָׁמַע עָם קוֹל א׳ ... וַיֶּחִי has a people heard the voice of God ... *and lived?* 1 S. 19. 17, Job 9. 4. With neg., 1 S. 15. 19 וְלָמָּה לֹא־שָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹל י׳ וַתַּעַט why have you not obeyed, *but have flown* upon the spoil? Gen. 32. 5, 1 S.

19. 5.

(*c*) as so-called "prophetic perf." (§ 59*b*). Is. 9. 5 ... כִּי־יֶלֶד יֻלַּד־לָנוּ ... וַתְּהִי for a boy will be born to us ... *and* the government *shall be* upon his shoulder, *and they shall call* his name; Ps. 22. 30 אָכְלוּ וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ all the fat ones of the earth shall eat *and bow down.* Is. 5. 25; 24. 18; 48. 20, 21, Mic. 2. 13, Jer. 8. 16, Ps. 20. 9. With no preceding QATAL, but stating the issue of actions just described, Is. 2. 9 וַיִּשַּׁח אָדָם וַיִּשְׁפַּל־אִישׁ so man shall be humbled, and men brought low, cf. 5. 15. Ps. 37. 40; 64. 8-10, Job 5. 15, 16; 36. 7. (These cases belong properly in § 79.) So VAYYIQTOL continuing YIQTOL, Ps. 49. 15 מָוֶת יִרְעֵם וַיִּרְדוּ death shall shepherd them, *and* the upright *shall rule* over them; 94. 22-23.

Rem. 1. Ex. of *Vav* cons. YIQTOL after stative verb (§ 57*a*), Is. 3. 16 are haughty *and walk;* Ps. 16. 9. The YIQTOL after אָז *then,* referring to the past (§ 62, R. 1), is also continued by VAYYIQTOL, Jos. 8. 30, 31; 10. 12; 22. 1, 1 K. 3. 16, 2 K. 12. 18. On the other hand the secution after performative QATAL (§ 57*b*) is usually *Vav* cons. QATAL, Gen. 9. 13; 17. 20 and so of QATAL in the sense of Engl. fut. perf. (§ 59*a*), Is. 4. 4, and expressing incredulity in a question (§ 59*b*), Jud. 9. 9, 1 S. 26. 9. So very often the "prophetic perf." (§ 59*b*) is continued by *Vav* cons. QATAL, the gramm. construction being abandoned in favour of one following the sense, Nu. 24. 17, Is. 2. 11; 43. 14, Ps. 20. 9. On the secution of the so-called "precative perf." see § 60, R. 1.

§ 83. *Vav* cons. YIQTOL continues any verbal form, as inf. or ptcp., which is used in a sense equivalent to QATAL. Gen. 39. 18 כַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי וָאֶקְרָא when I lifted up my voice *and cried;* 28. 6, 1 K. 18. 18, Is. 30. 12, Jer. 10. 13, Ps. 50. 16; 92. 8. Gen. 35. 3, לָאֵל הָעֹנֶה אֹתִי וַיְהִי עִמָּדִי who answered me, *and was* with me; 27. 3, Job 12. 4. See also exx. § 82*a*.

Rem. 1. In conversation and in psalms using the 1st pers. *Vav* cons is sporadically used with Cohort., perhaps imparting a personal focus to what is said, but possibly simply used on the model of the short YIQTOL form which in 3rd pers. looks like a juss.; see § 68, R. 3. Gen. 41. 11; 32. 6, 2 S. 22. 24, Ps. 3. 6.

THE CONJUGATIONS AND MOODS WITH SIMPLE *VAV*

§ 84. In addition to the *Vav* cons. constructions which express a succession of events or situations over time, Hebr. has greatly developed constructions in which a noun follows *Vav* in each or at any rate one of two clauses in order to relate them non-sequentially. *See* under Chiastic and Contrastive sentences and Circumst. clause. Clauses beginning with a verb may also be coordinated non-sequentially by means of simple instead of cons. *Vav*. Some of these may be fitted into the patterns of Conjunctive and Antithetical sentences (q.v.), but others are different, and require separate examination.

Thus simple *Vav* with QATAL (*a*) repeats on the same time-scale or, it may be, slightly extends the reference of a previous verb, being thus more or less synonymous with it. 1 S. 12. 2 וַאֲנִי זָקַנְתִּי וָשָׂבְתִּי and I am old *and grey;* Is. 1. 2 גִּדַּלְתִּי וְרוֹמַמְתִּי I have nourished *and brought up* children; Gen. 31. 7 he has cozened me, *and changed* (changing) my hire. Deu. 2. 30, 1 S. 17. 38, 1 K. 8. 47, 2 K. 18. 4; 19. 22; 23. 12, Is. 63. 10, Am. 7. 4, Ps. 38. 9, Ecc. 2. 9 (second verb), Lam. 2. 22, 1 Chr. 23. 1. Sometimes the second verb expresses antithesis or contrast, 1 K. 3. 11 you have not asked long life ... וְשָׁאַלְתָּ *but have asked*, etc.; 1 S. 10. 2 he has lost thought of the asses וְדָאַג לָכֶם *and is rather concerned* about you. Jos. 22. 3, 2 K. 8. 10; 18. 36, Jer. 4. 10, Ez. 20. 22

(*b*) or, more generally (almost as though it were a less certain variety of *Vav* cons. QATAL), it identifies an event as going on at roughly the same time as a previous event, 2 K. 14. 10 you have indeed smitten Edom וְנָשָׂאֲךָ *and* your heart *has lifted you up;* Is. 1. 8 your land is desolate ... בַּת־צִ֑יּוֹן וְנוֹתְרָה *and* the daughter of Zion *is left*, etc. Gen. 21. 25; 34. 5, 1 S. 5. 7; 17. 20, 1 K. 21. 12, Jer. 3. 9, Ecc. 1. 13; 5. 13, Ezr. 3. 10, 1 Chr. 22. 18. So וְהָיָה linking extended situation and accompanying event, 1 S. 1. 12 *and it happened* that, as she made many prayers before Y., Eli was watching (ptcp.) her mouth; 25. 10, 2 K. 3. 15

(*c*) Sometimes simple *Vav* with QATAL seems to restate or resume or sum up what has gone before, Gen. 15. 6 וְהֶאֱמִן בַּיְ֑ *so did he believe* in Y.; Jud. 7. 13 וְנָפַל הָאֹהֶל *so fell* the tent. 1 K. 20. 21, Is. 22. 14; 28. 26, Ecc. 2. 9 (first verb), 13, 15, Est. 9. 23, Ezr. 6. 22; 8. 30, 36, Neh. 13. 20.

(*d*) Hardly non-sequential, however, though significantly sometimes occuring in general accounts of someone's activities or experiences, are

quite a few cases where *Vav* with QATAL seems merely copulative and it is not easy to see why *Vav* cons. YIQTOL was not used, 2 K. 23. 10 *and* (next) *he defiled* Topheth. Jud. 16. 18, 2 S. 16. 5, 2 K. 14. 7, Ez. 9. 7, Ps. 136. 14, 15, 21, Job 16. 12. So וְהָיָה when וַיְהִי would have seemed more natural, 1 S. 10. 9, 1 K. 12. 32; 13. 3; 14. 27, 2 K. 21. 4; 23. 4. This usage, in effect in lieu of *Vav* cons. YIQTOL, has often been regarded as late and due to the influence of Aram. (which does not possess cons. forms), but its incidence in early texts is not negligible. It is more satisfactorily explained as an inner Hebr. development out of usages as in *b*, a development which ultimately led in Mishnaic Hebr. to the abandonment of *Vav* cons. YIQTOL and its complete replacement by simple *Vav* with QATAL. But that end result, which turned QATAL into a past tense and involved also the abandonment of its "stative" character in other than narrative contexts, is even in the latest strata of Bibl. Hebr. still in the future.

§ 85. Likewise simple *Vav* with YIQTOL (*a*) joins together on the same time-scale two events or situations, especially in the expression of general truths or customary happenings or ongoing experiences. This usage is found in prose, but is particularly characteristic of poetic parallelism, the two clauses neatly balancing one another. Ex. 23. 8 for a bribe blinds the clear-sighted וְיסַלֵּף *and twists* the words of the righteous (cf. Deu. 16. 19); Ps. 104. 32 he touches the mountains וְיֶעֱשָׁנוּ *and they smoke*. Ps. 25. 9; 26. 6; 104. 20, 30; 107. 42, Pr. 5. 20; 30. 17(a), Job 13. 27 (short YIQTOL, § 62*b*); 27. 21-23 (*vs.* 22 short YIQTOL); 39. 21. Expressing antithesis, Pr. 15. 25.

(*b*) In fut. settings, like *Vav* with QATAL in past settings, it relates two events or situations which take place around the same time or at any rate are not felt to be fully consecutive. Is. 40. 30 וְיֵעָפוּ נְעָרִים וְיִגָּעוּ and youths shall faint *and be weary;* Pr. 9. 11 for by me your days will be multiplied וְיוֹסִפוּ לְךָ *and they* (indef.) *will add*, i.e. years of life will be added to you. Ex. 15. 17, Lev. 15. 24; 26. 43, Deu. 32. 41, Is. 35. 1, 2; 42. 6; 58. 10, Ez. 14. 7, Zeph. 2. 13 (short YIQTOL), Ps. 32. 8; 69. 36; 78. 6; 91. 4, Job 20. 23 (short YIQTOL), Pr. 23. 15-16; 30. 17(b); 31. 5, Dan. 11. 4, 10, 16-19, etc.

(*c*) This usage is also found in past settings, very largely in poetic narrative or reminiscence, but in these cases the verbs, though sometimes

marked as long YIQTOLs, are properly perfective short YIQTOLs, § 62*a*. Ps. 107. 20 he sent forth (יִשְׁלַח) his word וַיִּרְפָּאֵם *and healed them* וַיְמַלֵּט *and delivered* (them) from destruction; Is. 43. 28 so I profaned (see below) the princes of the sanctuary וָאֶתֵּן (cohort., cf. § 83, R. 1) *and I put* Jacob to the ban. Is. 10. 13; 51. 2; 57. 17; 63. 3 (short YIQTOL), 5–6, Zech. 8. 10, Ps. 18. 38; 107. 20, 27, Job 3.13. In some of these exx. the difference between happening at roughly the same time and being consecutive is not great, and there are some other instances where it is hardly possible to claim that simple *Vau* with YIQTOL is not an alternative to *Vau* cons.: so the first case in Is. 43. 28 and those in 1 K. 14. 5 (וַיהִי), Ps. 18. 43, Dan. 8. 12 (one short YIQTOL). There is, however, not a large number of YIQTOLs in the past contexts with simple *Vau* compared with the cases where they are in appos. of free-standing, and taken as a whole they seem by a considerable margin to be non-consecutive rather than consecutive.

§ 86. Modal forms are commonly coordinated by simple *Vav* in similar ways to QATAL and YIQTOL. Thus imper., Is. 56. 1 שִׁמְרוּ מִשְׁפָּט וַעֲשׂוּ צְדָקָה *keep* justice *and do* righteousness. Gen. 1. 28, Ex. 9. 1, 8 (imper. and juss.), 13, Is. 65. 18; 66. 10. Juss., Ps. 96. 11 יִשְׂמְחוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְתָגֵל הָאָרֶץ *let* the heaven *be glad and* the earth *rejoice.* Gen. 1. 6, 9; 44. 18, 33, Jer. 9. 22, Ps. 107. 21-22; 109. 11, 12, 15. Cohort., Ps. 95. 6 נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְנִכְרָעָה *let us worship and bow down.* Gen. 1. 26 (cohort. and juss.); 11. 4, 2 S. 17. 1, Jon. 1. 14 (cohort. and imper.).

But additionally two moods may be joined with one another in a *logical* sense, simple *Vav* supplying the link. Thus an imper. with simple *Vav* (*a*) after another imper. usually expresses the certain *effect* or consequence of the first. The first imper. in this case virtually expresses a condition which carries with it the second as a consequence. Gen. 42. 18 זֹאת עֲשׂוּ וְחְיוּ do this *and* (you shall) *live;* 2 K. 5. 13 רְחַץ וּטְהָר wash *and* (so) *become clean;* Is. 45. 22 פְּנוּ אֵלַי וְהִוָּשְׁעוּ turn to me, *and be saved.* Ironically, Is. 8. 9 הִתְאַזְּרוּ וְחֹתּוּ gird yourselves *and* (but you shall) *be confounded.* 2 K. 18. 31, Jer. 25. 5; 27. 12, Am. 4. 4; 5. 4, 6, Ps. 37. 27.

(*b*) After a juss. or cohort., or their equivalent, as an interr. clause, there is to the imper. often the added nuance of confident expectation or indeed intention. After juss., Gen. 20. 7 וְיִתְפַּלֵּל בַּעַדְךָ וְחְיֵה and he can pray for you *that you live;* Ps. 128. 5 may Y. bless you from Zion וּרְאֵה

and you then see the prosperity of Jerusalem. Ru. 1. 9; 4. 11. After cohort., Gen. 12. 2 I will bless you and *so* make your name great וְהְיֵה בְּרָכָה *that you* (yourself) *will become* a blessing; 1 K. 1. 12 let me give you counsel וּמַלְטִי *that you may save* your life. Gen. 45. 18, Ex. 3. 10, 1 S. 12. 17. After a question, 2 S. 21. 3 how can I make amends וּבָרְכוּ *that you may bless* the heritage of Y.? Distinguish the more rhetorical use of a following imper., § 66, R. 2.

§ 87. The juss. and cohort. with simple *Vav* more obviously express *design* or purpose, though the notion of consequence or effect is never far away. If such a purpose-clause be neg., וְלֹא with (presumably modal, § 64*c*) long YIQTOL is almost always used.

(*a*) After an imper., or anything with imper. sense, as another cohort. or juss. Gen. 27. 4 הָבִיאָה לִי וְאֹכְלָה bring to me *that I may eat;* Ex. 14. 12 חֲדַל מִמֶּנּוּ וְנַעַבְדָה leave us alone, *that we may serve* Egypt; Jud. 6. 30 הוֹצֵא אֶת־בִּנְךָ וְיָמֹת bring out your son, *that he may die;* Gen. 42. 2 שִׁבְרוּ־לָנוּ וְנִחְיֶה וְלֹא נָמוּת buy corn for us *that we may live, and not die;* 1 S. 5. 11 שַׁלְּחוּ ... וְיָשָׁב ... וְלֹא יָמִית send away the ark of the God of Isr., and let it return to its place, *that it may not slay* me, etc.; 2 S. 13. 25 אַל־נָא נֵלֵךְ כֻּלָּנוּ וְלֹא נִכְבַּד עָלֶיךָ (note long YIQTOL for cohort.) let not all of us go, *that we be not burdensome to you.* Rem. 1.

(*b*) After clauses expressing a wish or hope. Jud. 9. 29 מִי יִתֵּן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי וְאָסִירָה would that this people were in my hand, *and I would remove* Abim.; Jer. 8. 23 O that my head were waters and my eyes a fountain of tears וְאֶבְכֶּה *that I might weep;* so 9. 1, Job 13. 5; 16. 20, 21; 23. 3-5. After clause with אוּלַי *perhaps,* Jer. 20. 10; after אוּלַי, Ex. 32. 30.

(*c*) After neg. clause, Nu. 23. 19 לֹא אִישׁ אֵל וִיכַזֵּב God is not a man, *that he should lie;* cf. infin. 1 S. 15. 29 (Rem. 3). Ps. 51. 18 you desire not sacrifice וְאֶתֵּנָה *that I should give* (else would I give) it. 2 K. 3. 11, Is. 41. 28; 53. 2, Ps. 49. 8-10; 55. 13. Without *and,* Job 9. 33 there is no umpire between us, *that he might lay* his hand upon us both; so *vs.* 32. Rem. 5.

(*d*) After interrog. clauses, 1 K. 22. 20 מִי יְפַתֶּה אֶת־אַחְאָב וְיַעַל who will entice Ahab *to get up?* Am. 8. 5 when will the new moon be over וְנַשְׁבִּירָה שֶׁבֶר *that we may sell corn?* Ex. 2. 7, 1 K. 12. 9 (cf. infin. *vs.* 6), 2 K. 3. 11, Is. 19. 12; 40. 25; 41. 26, Jon. 1. 11, Job 41. 3, Lam. 2. 13.

Rem. 1. Additional exx. of § 87*a.* Gen. 18. 30; 19. 20; 27. 21; 30. 25, 28;

42. 20, Ex. 14. 15, 16, Nu. 14. 42; 21. 7; 25. 4, Deu. 1. 42; 5. 28, 1 S. 9. 27; 11. 3; 15. 16; 17. 10; 18. 21; 28. 7, 2 S. 14. 7, 1 K. 13. 6, 18; 18. 27, 2 K. 5. 8; 6. 22, Is. 2. 3; 5. 19; 55. 3, Jer. 37. 20; 38. 24, Hos. 2. 4, Ps. 45. 12; 81. 9, 11; 90. 14, Job 13. 13.

Rem. 2. Very occasionally Hebr. uses *Vav* with juss. to express design even after the indic. in the past, as Lam. 1. 19 בִּקְשׁוּ אׇכֶל וְיָשִׁיבוּ they sought food *that they might revive* their strength (cf. infin. *vs.* 11). 1 K. 13. 33, 2 K. 19. 25, Is. 25. 9, Jer. 23. 18.

Rem. 3. The idea of *design* expressed by the construction is illustrated by its interchange with לְ and infin., cf. 1 K. 12. 6 infin. with *vs.* 9 juss.; 1 K. 22. 7 with *vs.* 8; Deu. 17. 17 with *vs.* 20 (clause with לְמַעַן). Occasionally *Vav* cons. QATAL may also attract a nuance of design from its context, cf. 1 S. 15. 25 cohort. with *vs.* 30 cons., Ex. 8. 12, 2 S. 21. 6, 1 K. 1. 2. Of course, effect or consequence is often implied by *Vav* cons. QATAL, especially following a neg. clause, Deu. 7. 26 *and* so *become* curse. Ex. 33. 20, Deu. 19. 10, Ps. 143. 7.

Rem. 4. A second neg. clause is usually introduced by וְלֹא (or לֹא) with (long) YIQTOL. The form וְאַל with juss. rather coordinates its clause to the preceding one, Gen. 22. 12, Deu. 33. 6, Jud. 13. 14, Ps. 27. 9, though some cases may seem dubious, 1 S. 12. 19, Ps. 69. 15.

Rem. 5. The *Vav* is sometimes omitted. Ps. 61. 8 מַן יִנְצְרֵהוּ enjoin *that they keep him.* It is, of course, the juss. or cohort. that supplies the logical connection, the *Vav* merely linking the clauses. Ex. 7. 9, Is. 27. 4, Ps. 55. 7; 103. 5; 118. 19; 119. 17, Job 9. 32, 33, 35.

The Object of the Verb (Direct, Indirect, Complement). Object Clauses

§ 88. Verbs in Hebr. as in other languages are classified as transitive or intransitive according as they take or do not take a *direct object* (§§ 89, 90). The other two kinds of obj. are the *indirect object* (§ 91) and the *object complement* (§ 92) the first occuring like the dir., with trans. verbs and the second with both trans. and intrans. The so-called *cognate object* (§ 93) may be regarded as a special type of obj. complement. The dir. object may consist of a noun (or noun phrase), a pronoun or (§ 90) *a clause* and may, like the subj. be either def. or indef., animate or inanimate. The indirect obj. is usually def. and usually animate. The obj. complement may be either a noun or an adj. (ptcp.) and is most often indef. The dir. obj. may be introduced by a prep., as נָגַע בְּ *touch*, and with many verbs either the indirect obj. or the obj. complement may be

replaced by a prepositional phrase. All three kinds of obj. are found in Engl., but there are, as one might expect, many divergencies in usage between the two languages.

The particle אֵת is frequently used before the obj., especially a def. direct obj., but it has other functions which have nothing to do with the obj. The prep. לְ is used non-prepositionally in a similarly manner. See *Excursus*.

Rem. 1. In addition to representing the three kinds of obj., nouns (and adj.) may be used adverbially to modify the action of the verb, e.g. נוֹרָאוֹת *fearfully* (lit. fearful things) in Ps. 139. 4. In Arabic both nouns used objectively and nouns used adverbially are put into the accusative case, and on this analogy they are often treated together in Hebr. Grammars under the heading "accusative". But this is not a wise procedure with a lang. that does not possess case endings, and these two usages are more sensibly distinguished by their functions. In the same way prepositional objects should be distinguished from prep. phrases used adverbially. On the adverbial uses of nouns and prep. phrases see §§ 117, 118.

§ 89. *The direct object.* Classes of verbs governing dir. obj. — (*a*) Numerous verbs trans. in Qal, as נָתַן *give*, לָקַח *take*, שִׂים *put*, פָּתַח *open*, כָּתַב *write*, רָדַף *pursue*, בָּלַע *swallow*, יָרַשׁ *inherit*, עָשָׂה *make, do*, etc. Some stative verbs may also be used transitively, as אָהֵב *love*, שָׂנֵא *hate*.

(*b*) The causatives of verbs intrans. in Qal, as קָדַשׁ *be consecrated, holy*, Piel *sanctify;* כָּבֵד *be heavy*, Piel *honour;* קַל *be light*, Piel *despise;* בּוֹא *come, go in*, Hiph. *bring in;* יָצָא *go out*, Hiph. *bring out;* עָלָה *go up*, Hiph. *bring up;* יָרַד *go down*, Hiph. *bring down;* הָלַךְ *go*, Hiph. *lead*, etc. Some verbs are trans. in both Qal and caus., שָׁלַח and Piel, *send, put forth* (*hand*); שָׁבַר *break*, Piel *shatter;* לָמַד *learn*, Piel *teach;* יָדַע *know*, Hiph. *show*.

(*c*) Verbs of putting on and putting off clothes seem in Hebr. usage mostly trans., but may also be intrans., cf. the alternative forms לָבַשׁ, לָבֵשׁ. For intrans. usages see § 92*a*. Clearly trans. is לָבַשׁ in 1 K. 22. 30 וְאַתָּה לְבַשׁ בְּגָדֶיךָ but you *put on your robes* and פָּשַׁט in 1 S. 19. 24 וַיִּפְשַׁט גַּם־הוּא בְּגָדָיו and he too *stripped off his garments*. Gen. 38. 19, Lev. 6. 4, Deu. 22. 5, 1 S. 28. 8, Song 5. 3. So אָזַר *gird on*, 1 S. 2. 4; חָגַר *id.*, 1 S. 25. 13, Ps. 109. 19; עָדָה, also Hiph., *deck oneself with*, Is. 61. 10,

Ez. 16. 11, Job 40. 10. For *put off* הֵסִיר is often used, Gen. 38. 19.

(*d*) Some intrans. verbs, which are usually construed with a prep., sometimes lack it, and in such cases may be considered trans., as חָפֵץ בְּ *be pleased with* but חָפֵץ *desire*, Is. 1. 11; יָרֵא מִן *be afraid of* but יָרֵא *fear*, Ps. 23. 4; בָּכָה עַל *weep for* but בָּכָה *bewail*, Deu. 21. 13. So in derived stem, קִוָּה לְ *hope for*, קִוָּה *id.*, Job 7. 2. This is probably not the case, however, where the noun is one of place; such nouns are more likely to be adverbial, replacing a prep. phrase; so יָשַׁב (2 S. 6. 11), שָׁכַן (Pr. 2. 21), הָלַךְ (Deu. 1. 19), בּוֹא (Ps. 100. 4), יָצָא Gen. 44. 4. § 117*a*. The verb מָלֵא *be full of, filled with* is generally followed by an obj. complement (§ 92*a*) but also takes a dir. obj. with the transitive sense of *fill*.

(*e*) Some trans. verbs regularly or sometimes reach the direct obj. by means of a prep. and may be compared with Engl. phrasal verbs like *look up, turn down*; the prep. goes with the verb rather than with the obj. and in effect becomes an adverb modifying the verb. Thus נָגַע בְּ *touch*, אָחַז בְּ *catch hold of*, בָּחַר בְּ *choose*, מָאַס בְּ *reject*, נָשָׂא בְּ *bear away*, נָגַשׁ בְּ *approach*, רָאָה בְּ *see one's desire on*, פָּקַד עַל *punish*, צִוָּה עַל *command*, חָמַל עַל *spare*, כִּסָּה עַל *cover over*. Some of these verbs may be used without the prep. with the same or similar meaning, e.g. אָחַז *seize*, צִוָּה *command;* others have a different meaning when so used, e.g. פָּקַד *visit*, רָאָה *see*. As in Engl. there are many uncertainties in distinguishing phrasal verbs from verbs followed by a normal prep., and the whole matter requires further investigation.

Rem. 1. Transitivity or the capacity to take a dir. obj. cannot be decided on formal grounds alone. Most *qātal/yiqtōl* forms in Qal are trans., but some are intrans., as עָמַד *stand*, סָבַב *turn*, קוּם *rise;* while most statives (*qātēl/yiqtal* and *qātōl/yiqtal*) are intrans., but some are trans., as אָהַב *love*, שָׂנֵא *hate*, or both, as לָבֵשׁ/לָבַשׁ *put on, be clothed with*. Similarly, most Niph. and Hithpa. are reflexive/passive, but sometimes they can be used transitively, as Jud. 19. 22 the men of the city נָסַבּוּ אֶת־הַבַּיִת *surrounded* the house, 1 S. 18. 4 וַיִּתְפַּשֵּׁט י׳ אֶת־הַמְּעִיל and Jon. *stripped from himself* his robe; while most Piels and Hiph. are trans., but some are intrans., as מִהַר *hasten*, יִחֵל *wait*, הִשְׁרִישׁ *take root*, הִלְבִּין *become white*.

Rem. 2. With the verbs in *d* a pronom. object more commonly lacks prep. than a nominal, and it may lack a prep. even with the verbs in *e*, e.g. נָגַע, Gen. 26. 29.

Rem. 3. Probably belonging to *e* are a number of trans. verbs like הֵרִים

בַּמַּטֶּה *lift up the rod* (Ex. 7. 20); the בְּ is better explained as used adverbially, as in Engl. *hold with*, than as a prep. of instrument or means. Jer. 12. 8 *give* (forth) (with) the voice; 18. 16 *wag* (with) the head, Ps. 22. 8, Job 16. 9 *gnash* (with) the teeth, Job 16. 10 *open* (with) the mouth, Lam. 1. 17. *Cf.* Pr. 6. 13 (three exx.). So the phrase קָרָא בְּשֵׁם *call with* the name, i.e. *invoke*, Gen. 12. 8, *proclaim*, Ex. 34. 5.

Rem. 4. Ellipsis. Many trans. verbs may, as in Engl., omit the direct obj., leaving it to be understood from the context; they do not because of the omission become intrans., Gen. 28. 16 (after *know*); 21. 26 (after *tell*), Ex. 8. 25 (after *sacrifice*). Also frequently omitted, but against Engl. usage, is the pronom. dir. obj. where the person has already been mentioned, especially after verbs of *giving, bringing, putting*, etc., Gen. 2. 19 (after *brought*), 1 S. 19. 13 (after *put*). Gen. 12. 19; 18. 7; 27. 13, 14; 38. 18, Deu. 21. 12. In similar circumstances an indir. obj. may be omitted, Gen. 21. 1 (after *said, spoken*), Jud. 5. 25 (after *give*). A different kind of ellipsis, in effect idiomatic, occurs in the following: נָשָׂא *lift up*, sc. קוֹל, Is. 3. 7; 42. 2; נָשָׂא לְ *forgive*, sc. עָוֹן, Is. 2. 9, Gen. 18. 24; כָּרַת sc. בְּרִית *make covenant*, 1 S. 20. 16, 2 Chr. 7. 18; הִפִּיל sc. גּוֹרָל *cast the lot*, 1 S. 14. 42, Job 6. 27, cf. Jud. 18. 1; שִׂים sc. לֵב *pay attention*, Job 4. 20, so כּוֹנֵן, Job 8. 8; שָׁמַר, נָטַר *retain*, sc. אַף *anger*, Jer. 3. 5, Ps. 103. 9; שָׁלַח sc. יָד, 2 S. 6. 6; הִקְשָׁה sc. עֹרֶף *stiffen neck*, Job 9. 4, cf. Jer. 7. 26.

§ 90. *Object clauses.* Clauses (verbal or nominal) may occupy the place of the subj. (§ 51) or of the dir. obj. They are introduced by the conjunction כִּי, less often אֲשֶׁר, *that.* Pronom. אֲשֶׁר *him who*, etc. may also begin obj. clauses, § 10, as may the pron. מִי, מָה, § 8.

(*a*) After verbs of *perception* and *feeling.* 1 S. 3. 8 וַיָּבֶן עֵלִי כִּי יְ קֹרֵא לַנָּעַר and E. perceived *that Y. was calling* the child. Gen. 8. 11 וַיֵּדַע כִּי קַלּוּ הַמַּיִם knew *that the waters had abated.* Frequently after *see, hear, know.* After *repent*, Gen. 6. 6, 7; after *believe*, Ex. 4. 5, Lam. 4. 12; after *remember*, Ps. 78. 35, Job 7. 7; after *forget*, Job 39. 15. An unmediated כִּי is rare after verbs of *telling, showing*, but it is found with הִגִּיד, Gen. 3. 11; 12. 18, etc. — Not so commonly in earlier, but often in later books, אֲשֶׁר. 1 S. 18. 15 וַיַּרְא שָׁאוּל אֲשֶׁר הוּא מַשְׂכִּיל מְאֹד and S. saw *that he prospered* greatly. Ex. 11. 7, Deu. 1. 31, 1 K. 22. 16 (after *adjure*), Jer. 28. 9, Neh. 8. 14, 15 (after *find written, commmand*), Est. 3. 4; 4. 11; 6.2 (after *find written*), Ecc. 6. 10; 7. 29 (after *find*); 9. 1 (after *lay to heart*), Dan. 1. 8 (id.). Also אֵת אֲשֶׁר *the fact, circumstance that, how that.* 2 K. 20. 3 זְכָר־נָא אֵת אֲשֶׁר הִתְהַלַּכְתִּי remember *how I have walked.* 2 S. 11. 20 הֲלוֹא יְדַעְתֶּם אֵת אֲשֶׁר־יֹרוּ *that they would shoot?* Deu. 9. 7, Jos.

2. 10, 1 S. 2. 22.

It is common for the logical subj. of the object clause to be attracted as obj. into the governing clause. Gen. 49. 15 וַיַּרְא מְנֻחָה כִּי טוֹב he saw *rest that it was good* (that rest was). 1 K. 5. 17 יָדַעְתָּ אֶת־דָּוִד אָבִי כִּי לֹא יָכֹל *that my father D. was unable.* Gen. 1. 4; 31. 5, Ex. 2. 2, 2 S. 17. 8. With אֲשֶׁר, Nu. 32. 23.

(*b*) After the verb *say* quoted or direct speech is to be regarded as dir. obj. Gen. 12. 12 וְאָמְרוּ אִשְׁתּוֹ זֹאת they will say, "*This is his wife*," *vs.* 19; 20. 2, 13; 26. 7; 43. 7, Jud. 9. 48, 1 S. 10. 19, 2 S. 3. 13, 1 K. 2. 8, Ps. 10. 11. It is not often that another verb is used without a form of אָמַר (often לֵאמֹר *saying*) intervening, but occasionally this happens, e.g. following דִּבֶּר, Jos. 22. 21; עָנָה, Neh. 8. 6; קָרָא, Lam. 4. 15.

There is a tendency to pass into the semi-oblique form, as Gen. 12. 13 אִמְרִי־נָא אֲחֹתִי אָתְּ say *you are my sister.* Ps. 10. 13; 50. 21 (after דִּמָּה *imagine*); 64. 6, Job 35. 14. But Hebr. does not use conjs. like כִּי to introduce full indirect speech, as Engl. However, כִּי may be used to introduce direct speech (כִּי *recitativum*). 1 K. 1. 30 I swore, saying כִּי שְׁלֹמֹה בְנֵךְ יִמְלֹךְ אַחֲרָי *"Sol. your son shall reign after me."* 2 K. 8. 13 and Hazael said כִּי מָה עַבְדְּךָ *"What is your servant, a mere dog, that ...?"* Gen. 29. 33, Jos. 2. 24, Jud. 6. 16, 1 S. 13. 11, 1 K. 11. 22; 21. 6, 1 Chr. 4. 9; 21. 18; 29. 14. (Some, but not all, of these exx. could be rendered with other meanings of כִּי, *when, because, surely,* cf. Gen. 29. 33, 1 S. 13. 11, 1 K. 1. 30).

Rem. 1. The כִּי of obj. clause is sometimes omitted, Ps. 9. 21 know אֱנוֹשׁ הֵמָּה *that they are* (but) *men.* Is. 48. 8, Am. 5. 12, Zech. 8. 23, Job 19. 25, cf. 2 K. 9. 25.

Rem. 2. A clause with *and* occasionally takes the place of an obj. clause (i.e. coordination instead of subordination). Gen. 30. 27 נִחַשְׁתִּי וַיְבָרְכֵנִי יי I have divined *and* (*that*) Y. has blessed me. 47. 6 אִם־יָדַעְתָּ וְיֶשׁ־בָּם if you know *and there be* (*that there are*) among them. Cf. Aram., Dan. 2. 13 the law went out *and* (*that*) the wise men were to be slain (ptcp.). A usual brachylogy occurs with *command,* Gen. 18. 19 לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יְצַוֶּה ... וְשָׁמְרוּ that he may charge his sons ... *and they will keep (to keep).* 42. 25 וַיְצַו יי וַיְמַלְאוּ Jos. commanded *and they filled (them to fill).* Nu. 35. 2, 2 S. 4. 12, Jon. 2. 11, cf. Am. 6. 11; 9. 9.

§ 91. *The indirect object* is usually def. and represents the person (or

animal, rarely thing) at whom the action of a trans. verb upon the dir. obj. is aimed. Characteristically it precedes the dir. obj. and accompanies verbs such as *give, teach, show, speak, tell,* etc., but also (unlike Engl.) the opposites of some of these in meaning, as *take away* (from).

(*a*) In the Qal many such verbs prefer a prep. to an indirect obj., as נָתַן לְ *give* (something) *to* (someone); קָרָא לְ *call, give* (name) *to* (someone); שָׁאַל מִן *ask* (something) *from* (someone). So some verbs whose basic form is Piel or Hiph., as דִּבֶּר אֶל־ *speak to* (someone); הִגִּיד לְ *tell* (something) *to* (someone). But all may take an indir. obj. unmediated, especially when it is pronom. suff. Thus נָתַן, Jos. 15. 19 (where the dir. obj. is focussed and precedes); זָבַד *give dowry to* (someone), Gen. 30. 20 (with cognate obj.); קָבַע *take away* (something) *from* (someone), Pr. 22. 23. Is. 58. 2 יִשְׁאָלוּנִי מִשְׁפְּטֵי־צֶדֶק they ask *me* for right judgments, Ps. 137. 3. 1 K. 12. 13 וַיַּעַן אֶת־הָעָם קָשָׁה he returned *the people* a harsh answer, 1 S. 20. 10. Cf. הֵשִׁיב דָּבָר, Gen. 37. 14 bring back word *to me,* 2 S. 24. 13, 1 K. 12. 6. 1 S. 21. 3 הַמֶּלֶךְ צִוַּנִי דָּבָר has entrusted a matter *to me.*

(*b*) In the caus. of a number of verbs already trans. in the Qal the dir. obj. of the verbal action is retained as such and the subj. of the Qal becomes the person who is affected by the action, i.e. the indirect obj. (it is in effect the obj. of the idea of causation present in the derived stem). The verbs concerned now carry the implication of *giving, telling,* etc. Deu. 8. 3 וַיַּאֲכִלְךָ אֶת־הַמָּן he fed manna *to you;* Jud. 4. 22 אַרְאֶךָּ אֶת־הָאִישׁ I will show *you* the man. So הוֹדַע show, 1 S. 14. 2; הוֹרָה, הֵבִין *teach, explain,* Is. 28. 9; הִנְחִיל *give as inheritance,* Deu. 3. 29; 31. 7; לִמֵּד *teach,* Jud. 3. 2, Deu. 4. 5; הִשְׁמִיעַ *make, let hear,* 2 K. 7. 6, Song 2. 14. 2 K. 6. 6; 11. 4. An interesting ex. of three obj., direct, indirect and compl. is 2 K. 8. 13 showed *me you king.*

(*c*) So the caus. of verbs of *putting on, off* clothes (§ 89*c*) where these are trans. in Qal. 1 S. 17. 38 וַיַּלְבֵּשׁ אֶת־דָּוִד מַדָּיו he put his garments *on David,* Gen. 41. 42, Ps. 132. 16, 18. Gen. 37. 23 וַיַּפְשִׁיטוּ אֶת־יוֹ׳ אֶת־כָּתָּנְתּוֹ they stripped his coat *from Joseph,* Nu. 20. 26, 28. The dir. obj. is retained even in the reflexive, 1 S. 18. 4 וַיִּתְפַּשֵּׁט אֶת־הַמְּעִיל he stripped his robe *from himself* (*himself of*), the indir. obj. being taken into the verb.

Rem. 1. Of course, not all trans. verbs need take an indir. obj., but only

a dir. obj., which may be either animate or inanimate, extending their meaning to another pers. or thing, where required, by means of a prep. (אֶל־, לְ, מִן, etc.). Noteworthy among these are verbs of *making, taking, bringing*, etc. as עָשָׂה, לָקַח, הֵבִיא, which in Engl. often have an indir. obj. (as *he brought David the scroll*), but in Hebr. prefer a prep. Gen. 2. 22, Ex. 3. 13; 18. 9, 1 S. 2. 19, 1 K. 17. 10, etc. § 89, R. 2.

§ 92. The *object complement* may be a noun or an adj. (ptcp.) and is used in several ways. With some intrans. verbs, e.g. מָלֵא Qal, Niph. *be full of, filled with*, it indicates the result that comes about from the action of the verb (rather than what is done by it), and is retained in this role with their trans. counterparts which have a dir. obj., as מָלֵא Qal, Piel, *fill;* Engl. does not have a compl. with such verbs, but uses *with* or other prep. With some trans. verbs, as עָשָׂה, שִׂים, the obj. compl. specifies what the dir. obj. becomes through the action of the verb, while with other trans. verbs, as רָאָה, שָׁמַע, it describes the condition of the dir. obj. during the action of the verb. When the obj. compl. accompanies a dir. obj., it usually follows it, though its position may vary.

(*a*) Some intrans. verbs, notably of *fulness* and *want*, take an obj. compl. in Qal, as מָלֵא *be full of*, שָׂבַע *be satisfied with*, חָסֵר *want*, שָׁכֹל *be bereaved of*. Is. 1. 11 שָׂבַעְתִּי עֹלוֹת אֵילִים I am sated *with burnt-offerings of rams; vs.* 15 יְדֵיכֶם דָּמִים מָלֵאוּ your hands are full *of blood;* Deu. 2. 7 לֹא חָסַרְתָּ דָּבָר you wanted *for nothing*. Gen. 18. 28; 27. 45, Ex. 15. 9, Pr. 25. 17. Intrans. usages of לָבֵשׁ/לָבַשׁ may be included here, Ps. 93. 1 גֵּאוּת לָבֵשׁ he is robed *in majesty;* 65. 14 (also עטף); 109. 29 (also עָטָה), Job 7. 5. So other Qal verbs, as שָׁרַץ *swarm with*, Gen. 1. 20, 21; פָּרַץ *overflow with*, Pr. 3. 10; יָרַד *flow down with*, Lam. 3. 48. And suitable passives, Ex. 1. 7, Is. 6. 4.

(*b*) In caus. of such verbs the subj. becomes the direct obj. and the compl. remains. Gen. 42. 25 וַיְמַלְאוּ אֶת־כְּלֵיהֶם בָּר they filled (Piel) their sacks *with corn*. 1 K. 18. 13 וַאֲכַלְכֵּל לֶחֶם וָמָיִם I sustained them *with bread and water*, Gen. 47. 12, Is. 50. 4. הִשְׂבִּיעַ *satisfy with*, Ps. 132. 15. חִסַּר *make to lack*, Ps. 8. 6. רָוָה *make saturated with*, Is. 16. 9, cf. הִרְוָה, 55. 10. Lam. 3. 15. So some verbs in Qal: סָעַד *support with*, Jud. 19. 5; סָמַךְ *id.*, Ps. 51. 14; and trans. uses of מָלֵא Qal., *fill*, 1 K. 18. 34.

(*c*) After trans. verbs of *making, placing, appointing*, etc., an obj. compl. defines what the dir. obj. becomes. Gen. 27. 9 וְאֶעֱשֶׂה אֹתָם

מַטְעַמִּים I will make them *into savoury food.* 1 K. 18. 32 וַיִּבְנֶה אֶת־ הָאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ he built the stones *into an altar.* Is. 3. 7 לֹא תְשִׂימֻנִי קָצִין עָם you will not appoint me *a ruler of the people.* Gen. 17. 5, Ex. 30. 25, Deu. 28. 15, 1 S. 28. 2, 1 K. 14. 7, Is. 5. 6; 28. 15, Mic. 4. 13. אָפָה *bake into,* Ex. 12. 39; בָּרָא *create to be,* Is. 65. 18; הָפַךְ *turn into,* Ps. 114. 8. Cf. 1 K. 11. 30 (*rend into*), Is. 37. 26 (*make collapse into*), Am. 6. 11 (*smite into*), Job 28. 2 (*smelt into*), Ps. 74. 2 (*redeem to be*).

(*d*) After trans. verbs of *seeing, hearing, knowing,* etc., the obj. complement, sometimes a noun, more often an adj. or ptcp., describes the state in which the dir. obj. is seen, heard, known to be. Gen. 15. 6 וַיַּחְשְׁבֶהָ לוֹ צְדָקָה he counted it *righteousness* to him. 3. 8 וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־ קוֹל יי אי מִתְהַלֵּךְ they heard the voice of Y. God *walking* in the garden (the obj. is a constr. relation and it is properly the second member which is complemented). 7. 1 אֹתְךָ רָאִיתִי צַדִּיק you I have seen (to be) *righteous.* Gen. 21. 9; 27. 6, Nu. 11. 10, 2 K. 14. 26, Is. 6. 1; 53. 4. So after other trans. verbs, as Jos. 11. 6 אָנֹכִי נֹתֵן אֹתָם־כֻּלָּם חֲלָלִים I shall deliver them all *dead men;* 1 K. 20. 18 (take *alive*), Ps. 124. 3; Is. 20. 4 (lead away *naked*). (Rem. 2).

Rem. 1. Many verbs which take an obj. compl. may also be construed with prep., as שָׂבַע with מִן, Pr. 1. 31, Ps. 104. 13; הִשְׁבִּיעַ with בְּ, Is. 58. 11, Lam. 3. 15; נָתַן with לְ, *make into,* Gen. 12. 2; שִׂים with לְ, *id.,* Mic. 1. 6; חָשַׁב with לְ or כְּ, Job 13. 24; 19. 11.

Rem. 2. Definitions of material used in *making, building,* etc. are often added to the verb unmediated by prep., as Gen. 2. 7 (formed man of *dust*). But these usages are adverbial and should be distinguished from the exx. of obj. compl. in *c.* (§ 117*d*) Also, in a few cases of *d* the adj. is sing. following plur. dir. obj., as Is. 20. 4, Job 24. 10 (*naked*), Job 12. 17 (*stripped*); these too should be considered adverbial, the indeclinable adj. operating in effect as adv.

§ 93. The *cognate obj.* is a noun from the same base as the verb it accompanies. Such a verb is usually intrans., though it may be trans., but even in the latter case the cognate obj. is not obviously acted upon as a dir. obj. is, but seems best regarded as a complement of the kind found with the verbs in § 92*a, b.* It is sometimes called the *internal* obj.

(*a*) The cognate obj. sometimes has the almost adverbial effect of strengthening the verb; 1 S. 1. 6 וְכִעֲסַתָּה צָרָתָהּ גַּם־כַּעַס and her rival-

wife *continually aggrieved* her; Lam. 1. 8 חֵטְא חָטְאָה יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם Jerus. *sinned grievously;* Is. 42. 17 יֵבֹשׁוּ בֹּשֶׁת הַבֹּטְחִים בַּפֶּסֶל *they shall be utterly shamed* who trust in a graven image. Is. 21. 7; 24. 16; 66. 10, Ez. 25. 12, Mic. 4. 9, Zech. 1. 2, Job 27. 12, Ps. 14. 5; 106. 14.

(*b*) But more frequently the cognate obj. expresses a concrete instance of the verbal action; 2 K. 12. 21 וַיִּקְשְׁרוּ־קֶשֶׁר they *made a conspiracy*, so 15. 30; Gen. 40. 8 חָלוֹם חָלַמְנוּ we have *dreamed a dream.* Gen. 9. 14, Ex. 22. 5, Jos. 7. 1; 22. 20, 31, 1 K. 1. 12. In this case it is characteristically in the constr. state before another noun, often with a nuance of comparison; or it is followed by one or more adjectives, which supply the strengthening. 1 S. 20. 17 אַהֲבַת נַפְשׁוֹ אֲהֵבוֹ he loved him *with the love* (he had) *for his own soul;* Jer. 22. 19 קְבוּרַת חֲמוֹר יִקָּבֵר he shall be buried *with the burial of an ass.* Lev. 26. 36, Deu. 16. 18, Jos. 9. 9, Is. 14. 6; 27. 7; 45. 17, Jer. 30. 14, Zech. 7. 9, Ps. 144. 6, *cf.* Ps. 13. 4 (*sleep* the sleep of *death*), Ps. 139. 22 (*with completeness of,* i.e. perfect, *hatred*). With adj., Gen. 27. 34 וַיִּצְעַק צְעָקָה גְדֹלָה וּמָרָה עַד־מְאֹד he cried *with an exceeding loud and bitter cry.* Gen. 12. 17; 50. 10, Deu. 7. 23, Jud. 21. 2, 1 S. 17. 25, 2 S. 13. 15, 36, 1 K. 1. 40, Jer. 8. 5; 14. 17, Jon. 1. 10, Zech. 1. 14, 15; 8. 2, Neh. 2. 10.

Rem. 1. Perhaps it should be considered a form of cognate or internal obj. when verbs of *expression* or *conduct*, esp. the first, subordinate to themselves the organ of expression or acting, 2 S. 15. 23 all the land בֹּכִים קוֹל גָּדוֹל were weeping *with a loud voice*, Pr. 10. 4 עֹשֶׂה כַּף־רְמִיָּה he who *works with a slack hand.* Deu. 5. 19, 1 K. 8. 55, Is. 19. 18, Jer. 25. 30, Ez. 11. 13, Ps. 12. 3; 63. 6; 109. 2, Ezr. 10. 12.

EXCURSUS: THE PARTICLES אֵת AND לְ

§ 94. The particle אֵת is most commonly used before a *def.* nominal or pronom. obj. referring to a person or animal, though it also occurs with a non-animate obj. Gen. 2. 15 וַיִּקַּח אֶת־הָאָדָם he took *the man;* 2. 24 יַעֲזֹב אֶת־אָבִיו וְאֶת־אִמּוֹ he shall leave *his father and mother;* 4. 11 לָקַחַת אֶת־דְּמֵי אָחִיךָ to receive *your father's blood;* 40. 4 וַיְשָׁרֵת אֹתָם he served *them.* However, אֵת is very often wanting in such cases, and (like the Art.) it is much less employed in poetry, espec. earlier poetry, than in prose; thus it occurs not at all or very rarely in the poems in Gen.

49 (once, *vs.* 15), Ex. 15, Deu. 32; 33 (twice, *vs.* 9), Jud. 5, 1 S. 2, Ps. 18 (twice in the parallel in 2 S. 22, *vss.* 20, 28). Moreover, אֵת sometimes marks an indef. dir. obj., often enough an indir. obj. (which is usually def.), and sporadically an obj. compl. (which is usually indef.); it is even used with a noun as adv. ("adverbial accusative"); and in a significant number of passages it accompanies, not the obj., but the *subject* of a clause. This variety of usage suggests that אֵת is not essentially connected with the obj., def. or otherwise, but has a wider, and optional, focussing or specifying function. Mostly a prep., לְ shares some of these functions of אֵת and should be regarded in a similar light.

Rem. 1. When several dir. obj. are coupled with *and*, אֵת is usually repeated before each of them, Gen. 1. 1, but is occasionally confined to the first, Jud. 1. 4.

Rem. 2. The dir. obj., when a pron., is as often appended to the verb as to אֵת. But אֵת must be used in these cases: (*a*) when the dir. obj. is focussed and placed before the verb, Jud. 14. 3 אֹתָהּ קַח־לִי get *her* for me. Gen. 7. 1; 24. 14; 41. 13, 1 S. 8. 7; 21. 10, Hos. 2. 15. (*b*) When the pron. obj. is governed by infin. absol., Gen. 41. 43 וְנָתוֹן אֹתוֹ and set *him* over, 1 S. 2. 28, Jer. 9. 23, Ez. 36. 3. (*c*) When the verb also has a pron. indir. obj. or, in the case of infin. constr., a suffixed subj., 2 S. 15. 25 וְהֶרְאַנִי אֹתוֹ and he will let *me* see *it;* Gen. 29. 20 בְּאַהֲבָתוֹ אֹתָהּ because of *his* loving *her*. Gen. 19. 17; 38. 5, Deu. 7. 24; 31. 7, 1 S. 1. 23; 18. 3, 2 K. 8. 13. Similarly when subj. of infin. constr. is a noun, Deu. 22. 2.

Rem. 3. What is an indef. obj. in Hebr. is not simply a matter of the absence of the Art. Pronouns are def., including אֲשֶׁר, as in Hebr. practice are numerals, even אֶחָד *one*, and similar words like כֹּל *all, every*, אַחֵר *another;* and def. nouns frequently in poetry (occasionally in prose) may lack Art.; see § 31, R. 2. All of these may take אֵת (not מָה, § 75*b*). Is. 6. 8 אֶת־מִי *whom*, 1 S. 16. 3 אֵת אֲשֶׁר *the one of whom*. Gen. 44. 1. Gen. 9. 24, 2 K. 20. 3. With numerals, Gen. 21. 30, 2 S. 15. 6. With אֶחָד, Nu. 16. 15, 1 S. 9. 3. With כֹּל, Gen. 1. 21, Deu. 2. 34, 2 S. 6. 1. With אַחֵר, Jer. 16. 13. In poetry, Is. 41. 7; 50. 4, Pr. 13. 21, etc. Such cases should be distinguished from genuine exx. of אֵת with an indef. dir. obj., of which there are rather too many to be explained away as having a particular reference in the context. Thus *a man, a woman* in legal texts, Ex. 21. 28, Lev. 20. 14, Nu. 21. 9. Otherwise 1 S. 24. 5 (*a skirt*); 26. 20 (*a flea*), 2 S. 4. 11 (*a righteous man*).

Rem. 4. Exx. of the other two objects with אֵת. Indirect (not infrequent): Gen. 7. 9 (command *Noah*), Deu. 3. 28 (cause *them* to possess); 4. 5 (teach *you*), 1 S. 14. 12 (make known *to you*); 17. 38 (put garments *on David*); 20. 10

(answer *the people*), Jer. 1. 16 (speak *to them*), etc. Complement (rare): Ex. 8. 17 (filled with *flies*), 1 K. 7. 14 (filled with *wisdom*). When two objs. are used, it is not often that both are marked with אֵת, though exx. occur, Deu. 3. 28.

Rem. 5. Exx. of אֵת with nouns used adverbially (§ 117): Gen. 17. 11, 14, 25 (not 24) (*in the flesh of his foreskin*), Ex. 13. 7 (*seven days*), Lev. 25. 22 (*in the eighth year*), Deu. 9. 25 (*forty days and forty nights*), 1 K. 15. 23 (*in his feet*). It could be argued that this usage survives from a time when Hebr. possessed an accusative case, thus associating the particle historically with that case; but that would not cover the usage with subj. (R. 6).

Rem. 6. The subj. of a trans. verb is rarely marked with אֵת, Neh. 9. 34. It is much commoner with subj. of intrans. verbs, 2 K. 6. 5 וְאֶת־הַבַּרְזֶל נָפַל *the iron* (*axehead*) fell into the water, Jud. 20. 24, 1 S. 17. 34, Ez. 17. 21; 44. 3, Dan. 9. 13, Neh. 9. 19. Or of passive verbs, Gen. 4. 18 וַיִּוָּלֶד לַחֲנוֹךְ אֶת־עִירָד and *Irad* was born to Enoch; 21. 5, 2 S. 21. 22. Or with the substantive subj. (properly in appos. to "it") of impers. verbs, 2 S. 11. 25 אַל־יֵרַע בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֶת־הַדָּבָר let not *the matter* trouble you (let. let it not be evil in your eyes, *namely the matter*); 1 S 20. 13 (read יִיטַב), Neh. 9. 32 (fem. noun). Or with the subj. or subj. compl. in nominal clauses or of the verb הָיָה, Nu. 35. 7 all the cities ... (shall be) forty-eight cities אֹתָהֶן וְאֶת־מִגְרְשֵׁיהֶן *they* and *their pastoral lands*. Nu. 3. 26; 5. 10, Jos. 17. 11; 22. 17, 1 S. 26. 16, Jer. 36. 22, Ez. 10. 22; 35. 10, Zech. 7. 7, Ecc. 4. 3; *cf.* אֵת following יֵשׁ, 2 K. 10. 15; following אֵין, Hag. 2. 17 (or are these obj.?, § 52). It has been remarked that certain of these exx. are similar to a construction called "ergative", by which in certain languages the subj. of an intrans. or passive verb is marked in the same way as the dir. obj. of a trans. verb; compare אֶת־עִירָד as the subj. of *was born* (Gen. 4. 18) with אֶת־אֱנוֹשׁ as the object of *begat* (5. 6). But, though this is evidence of "ergative" thinking in Hebr., such an explanation does not apply to, e.g., the subjects of the nominal clauses cited above where there is no verb which can change from intrans. to trans. It seems more sensible to regard אֵת accompanying subjects as (mildly) focussing or emphatic. Note particularly the exx. where אֵת is used with a noun in app., e.g. 2 S. 11. 25 (above), Ez. 10. 22, and where it marks only the second of two subjects, e.g. 1 S. 17. 34 (the lion and *also the bear*); 26. 16.

Rem. 7. Rarer uses of אֵת, also apparently with focussing force, are to mark an extraposed noun (*casus pendens*), Gen. 13. 15 (*as for* all the land), 1 K. 15. 13, Ez. 20. 16; or a noun in appos. to a dir. obj., 1 K. 2. 32 (*namely* Abner, etc.), Ez. 14. 22, or even to a prepos. phrase, Ex. 1. 14 (*namely* in all their labours).

Rem. 8. As well as its normal prep. usages, לְ has some non-prepositional usages similar to those of אֵת: (*a*) to indicate the def. dir. obj. of a trans. verb, partic. infin. and ptcp., Ex. 32. 13 זְכֹר לְאַ֫ remember *Abraham*, 1 S. 23. 10

לְשַׁחֵת לָעִיר to destroy *the town*, Is. 11. 9 לַיָּם מְכַסִּים covering *the sea*. Nu. 12. 13; 32. 15, 2 S. 3. 30, Is. 29. 2, Jer. 40. 2, Hos. 10. 1, Am. 6. 3; 8. 9, Job 11. 6, Ps. 69. 6; 73. 18, Ezr. 8. 16, 24, 1 Chr. 16. 37. Further to mark (*b*) an indef. dir. obj. (rare), Job 5. 2; (*c*) the subj. of an intrans. or pass. verb, 2 S. 17. 16 פֶּן יִבָּלַע לַמֶּלֶךְ lest *the king* be swallowed up, 2 Chr. 7. 21; (*d*) a noun in appos., Ps. 136. 19, 20 (*namely* Sihon), 1 Chr. 5. 26; 13. 1, 2 Chr. 2. 12; 23. 1. On the other hand, with indir. obj. and obj. compl. לְ operates normally as prep., Gen. 3. 17 כִּי שָׁמַעְתָּ לְקוֹל אִשְׁתֶּךָ because you listened *to* the voice of your wife; 12. 2 וְאֶעֶשְׂךָ לְגוֹי גָּדוֹל that I may make you *into* a great nation.

Construction of the Passive

§ 95. As in other languages the dir. obj. of a trans. verb becomes the subj. of the equivalent pass., with usual concord. Qal pass.: Gen. 12. 15 וַתֻּקַּח הָאִשָּׁה *the woman was taken;* 4. 24, Job 19. 23(b) (plur.). Niph.: 2 K. 13. 13 וַיִּקָּבֵר יוֹאָשׁ *J. was buried*, Zeph. 3. 8 (fem). Job 19. 23(a) (plur.). Pual: Is. 9. 9 שִׁקְמִים גְּדָעוּ *the sycamores have been cut down*, Am. 7. 17 (fem.). Hoph.: Is. 16. 15 ... כִּסֵּא וְהוּכַן *a throne will be established*, Lev. 21. 10. The subj. is not uncommonly marked with אֵת (above, R. 6), Gen. 29. 27 וְנִתְּנָה לְךָ גַּם־אֶת־זֹאת *this one too* will be given to you; 17. 5; 18. 4, Deu. 12. 22, 2 S. 21. 22 (plur.).

The following usages are noteworthy. — (*a*) There are a number of cases where concord is not observed and a plur. or fem. subj. is contrued with 3 mas. sing. verb as the basic form in accordance with § 22, 1. Is. 9. 18 נֶעְתַּם אָרֶץ the land *is burned;* 24. 12. 17. 6 וְנִשְׁאַר־בּוֹ עֹלְלוֹת gleanings *will be left* in it, Jer. 36. 32. More commonly the subj. is marked with אֵת. Nu. 14. 21 וְיִמָּלֵא כְבוֹד־יי אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *the earth will be filled* with the glory of Y., Hos. 10. 6, Ps. 72. 19. Jer. 35. 14 הוּקַם אֶת־דִּבְרֵי יוֹ׳ *the commands* of Jonadab *have been kept*, Gen. 27. 42, 2 S. 21. 6.

(*b*) The obj. complement is retained when the verb is passive. Thus of intrans. verbs: Is. 6. 4 וְהַבַּיִת יִמָּלֵא עָשָׁן the house was filled *with smoke*, Ex. 1. 7, 1 K. 7. 14, Is. 2. 7, 8; 38. 10, Ps. 80. 11, Pr. 24. 31. Of trans. verbs of *making, appointing*, etc.: Mic. 3. 12 צִיּוֹן שָׂדֶה תֵּחָרֵשׁ Zion shall be ploughed *into a field*, Is. 6. 11; 24. 12. 1 K. 14. 6. So cognate obj., Jer. 14. 17. The obj. compl. of verbs of *seeing, estimating*, etc., on the other hand, becomes *subj. compl.* in pass. (§ 50), Gen. 31. 15 הֲלוֹא נָכְרִיּוֹת נֶחְשַׁבְנוּ לוֹ are we not considered *foreigners* by him, Is. 40. 17.

(*c*) The subj. of a trans. verb becomes the agent of pass., and is usually expressed by prep. לְ. Gen. 14. 9 בָּרוּךְ לְאֵל עֶלְיוֹן blessed *by God Most High;* 31. 15 נֶחְשַׁבְנוּ לוֹ we are counted *by him;* Is. 65. 1 נִמְצֵאתִי לְלֹא בִקְשָׁנִי I was to be found *by those who sought me not.* Ex. 12. 16, 1 S. 15. 13, Jer. 8. 3, Neh. 6. 1. More rarely by מִן (*from*, of source), Lev. 21. 7 אִשָּׁה גְּרוּשָׁה מֵאִישָׁהּ a woman divorced *from her husband, cf.* Jud. 14. 4, Job 4. 9. Prep. מִן is more usual of *cause* or means, not personal, Gen. 9.11 יִכָּרֵת מִמֵּי הַמַּבּוּל shall be cut off *by the waters of the flood,* Obad. 9, cf. Job 7. 14. Prep. בְּ (of instrument), usually of things (Ez. 26. 6 be slain *by the sword*), may also be used of persons, Gen. 9. 6 בָּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשָּׁפֵךְ *through men* shall his blood be shed.

Rem. 1. Traditionally the nouns with אֵת in *a* have been regarded as dir. obj. of the pass. verbs used impersonally, and this interpretation extended to mas. sing. nouns with אֵת, it being in effect denied that אֵת can mark the subj. But this view does not take account of cases where אֵת indicates the subj. of a nominal clause (§ 94, R. 6) or, more appositely, cases like Gen. 29. 27 above, where a fem. subj. or 2 S. 21. 22, where a plur. subj., both with אֵת, have their verbs in concord.

Rem. 2. Though such instances of nouns with אֵת are to be taken as subj., not obj., genuine cases of the *impersonal construction* with pass. (and intrans.) verbs are still found, as Gen. 2. 23 לְזֹאת יִקָּרֵא אִשָּׁה to this one *it shall be called* (this one shall be called) woman; 4. 26 הוּחַל לִקְרֹא *it was begun* (men began) to call on the name of Y.; 12. 13 לְמַעַן יִיטַב־לִי that *it may go well* with me because of you. Nu. 16. 29 (with cognate obj. retained), 1 S. 29. 9, Is. 53. 7, Ps. 68. 15 (fem. verb). See further § 15. See also § 94, R. 6, where in 2 S. 11. 25 the "real" subj., marked with אֵת, is in appos. to the "it" of the verb.

Two Verb Constructions

§ 96. Verbs which regularly govern another verb are of two kinds: (*a*) those which have a meaning distinct from the other verb, as אָבָה *be willing* (to do), הֵחֵל *begin*, חָדַל *cease*, חָפֵץ *be pleased*, יָדַע *know* (how to do), כִּלָּה *finish* (doing), לָמַד *learn*, מֵאֵן *refuse*, נִסָּה *try*. In some cases the first verb may have a dir. obj., as לִמֵּד *teach* (someone to do), נָתַן *allow*. (*b*) Characteristic of Hebr., those which merely modify the second verb and have often to be rendered adverbially or otherwise paraphrased in Engl., as יָסַף, הוֹסִיף add to do, i.e. *do again* or *more*, שׁוּב *do again*,

הִרְבָּה *do much, greatly, often,* מִהֵר *do quickly,* הֵיטִיב *do well,* הִגְדִּיל *do greatly,* etc.

§ 97. Modes of connection (*Note*: some verbs are found using two or all three modes, others tend to favour only one).

(*a*) The second verb is *infin. constr.* with, less commonly without, לְ or, still less commonly, *infin. absol.* Exx. of § 96*a*: Gen. 11. 8 וַיַּחְדְּלוּ לִבְנוֹת הָעִיר they *gave up building* the city; 1 S. 18. 2 וְלֹא נְתָנוֹ לָשׁוּב he did not *allow him to return;* Deu. 10. 10 לֹא אָבָה י׳ הַשְׁחִיתֶךָ Y. *was unwilling to destroy* you; Is. 1. 16 חִדְלוּ הָרֵעַ לִמְדוּ הֵיטֵב *cease to do evil, learn to do good.* Gen. 4. 26; 6. 1; 24. 15, 19, 22; 37. 35, Ex. 10. 27, Deu. 2. 30; 3. 23; 4. 34, 1 S. 16. 8, Jer. 1. 6, Am. 3. 10; 7. 2, Job 6. 7. Exx. of *b:* Gen. 8. 21 לֹא אֹסִף לְקַלֵּל עוֹד *I shall* never *again curse* the ground; Ex. 8. 24 לֹא־תַרְחִיקוּ לָלֶכֶת *you shall* not *go far away;* 2 K. 2. 10 הִקְשִׁיתָ לִשְׁאוֹל *you have asked a hard thing* (made hard to ask). 1 S. 1. 12; 2. 3; 16. 17, 2 S. 19. 4, 1 K. 14. 9, 2 K. 21. 6, Is. 23. 16; 29. 15; 55. 7, Jer. 1. 12; 16. 12, Hos. 9. 9, Am. 4. 4, Jon. 4. 2, Ps. 55. 8; 113. 5-6, Ezr. 10. 13, 2 Chr. 20. 35. The infin. in these exx. may, following trans. verbs, be regarded as dir. obj. and, following intrans. verbs or trans. verbs already having a dir. obj., as obj. complement. This usage is to be distinguished from other uses of infin., e.g. to express purpose or result, § 126*b*.

(*b*) The verbs are *coordinated* in the same conjugation with *Vav.* Gen. 24. 18 וַתְּמַהֵר וַתּוֹרֶד כַּדָּהּ *she quickly let down* her pitcher; 44. 11. 2 K. 6. 3 הוֹאֶל־נָא וְלֵךְ *consent to go;* Jud. 19. 6. Gen. 25. 1 וַיֹּסֶף אב׳ וַיִּקַּח אִשָּׁה Abr. *took another wife;* 1 K. 19. 6 וַיָּשָׁב וַיִּשְׁכָּב *he lay down again;* 2 K. 1. 11, 13. Or the equivalent *Vav cons.* may be used, Hos. 2. 11 אָשׁוּב וְלָקַחְתִּי *I will take back again.* 2 S. 7. 29, Is. 6. 13, Mal. 1. 4, Job 6. 9. — Jos. 7. 7, Is. 1. 19, Est. 8. 6, Dan. 9. 25.

(*c*) The verbs are *coordinated* without *Vav,* asyndetously. Esp. in imper.: 2 K. 5. 23 הוֹאֶל קַח כִּכָּרַיִם *please take* two talents; 1 S. 3. 5 שׁוּב שְׁכַב *lie down again,* Gen. 19. 22, Deu. 2. 24. Jos. 5. 2, Is. 21. 12, Jer. 13. 18, Ps. 51. 4. — YIQTOL: Hos. 1. 6 לֹא אוֹסִיף עוֹד אֲרַחֵם *I will no more pity;* Gen. 30. 31 אָשׁוּבָה אֶרְעֶה צֹאנְךָ *I will again feed* your flock; 1 S. 2. 3 אַל־תַּרְבּוּ תְדַבְּרוּ *talk no longer.* Mic. 7. 19, Lam. 4. 14, Job 10. 16; 19. 3. Peculiarly with change of pers., Is. 47. 1 לֹא תוֹסִיפִי יִקְרְאוּ־ לָךְ רַכָּה *no longer shall people call you* (*shall you be called*) Tender, Lam. 1. 10. YIQTOL may follow a stative QATAL, Job 32. 22 לֹא יָדַעְתִּי אֶכְנֶה

I am not good at flattering, Is. 42. 21. — QATAL: Ps. 106. 13 מִהֲרוּ שָׁכְחוּ *speedily they forgot.* Hos. 5. 11; 9. 9, Zeph. 3. 7, Zech. 8. 15. These usages are to be distinguished from normal asyndeton, 1 S. 3. 9, Ps. 88. 11; 102. 14, etc.

Rem. 1. In a few instances the *ptcp.* or *adj.* seems to be substituted for infin., Is. 33. 1 כַּהֲתִימְךָ שׁוֹדֵד when you are done *destroying;* 1 S. 3. 2 וְעֵינָו הֵחֵלּוּ כֵהוֹת his eyes had begun *to be dim.* 1 S. 16. 16, Hos. 7. 4, Neh. 10. 29 (all able *to understand*). So possibly a noun, Gen. 9. 20, Noah was the first (to be) *a tiller of the soil* (*cf.* infin. in 10. 8, 1 S. 14. 35; 22. 15). But אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה is more likely to be a subj. compl., began *as* and so therefore perhaps כֵּהוֹת in 1 S. 3. 2 and its counterparts in Is. 33. 1, Hos. 7. 4. Neh. 10. 29 may be an ex. of normal asyndeton or it and 1 S. 16. 16 cases of appos.

The Syntax of the Infinitive and Participle

§ 98. Hebrew has four non-finite forms which share features of both verb and noun, two infinitives traditionally called Absolute and Construct, and two participles, active and passive. The chief uses of the infin. absol. can hardly be called infinitival in the normal sense of the word, but in other uses it shares with the infin. constr. the nominal and verbal functions associated in Engl. with both infinitive and gerund in *-ing*. In these functions they are in effect nouns which may take an obj. and as such cannot operate as full finite verbs. The participles are in effect adjectives which may take an obj. (the pass. ptcp. only an obj. compl.) and are similarly unable to function finitely. The infinitives denote the action or state of the verb from which they are derived, the participles the person involved in such action or state, either as actor or patient. But neither express aspect or mood like the inflected conjugations nor, of course, do they any more than these have implications of "tense".

The Infinitive Absolute

§ 99. The infinitives absol. and constr. were so called because of a surface resemblance to the (longer) absol. and (shorter) constr. states of the noun, but the two are in fact unrelated in origin and, for the most part, in usage. The infin. absol. may, like the infin. constr., be used as the equivalent of an Engl. infin. or gerund, but its three main usages are its own: to be (1) a strengthening complement to finite verbs from the same root, (2) an adverbial compl. to finite verbs from a different root, and (3) a substitute for any form of a finite verb.

§ 100. The infin. absol. as infin./gerund is less common than the infin. constr. and more restricted in usage; it cannot receive suffixes and is only rarely preceded by a prep:, and it cannot be put into the constr. state. It may, however —

(*a*) Be the subj. in a nominal clause, espec. when the pred. is טוֹב *good* or לֹא טוֹב (in poetry בַּל טוֹב) *not good*, but also otherwise. Pr. 28. 21 הַכֵּר־פָּנִים לֹא־טוֹב *to be partial* is not good. 1 S. 15. 23, Jer. 10. 5, Pr. 24. 23; 25. 27, Job 25. 2. Exceptionally, it may be subj. to a verbal clause, Job 6. 25. In Is. 58. 6 it is in appos. to זֶה as subj.

(*b*) Or the dir. obj. of a trans. verb, Is. 1. 17 לִמְדוּ הֵיטֵב learn *to do well*. Or the obj. compl. of an intrans. verb, Is. 42. 24 לֹא אָבוּ הָלוֹךְ they were unwilling *to walk*. Is. 7. 15; 57. 20, Pr. 15. 12, Job 9. 18; 13. 3. Lam. 3. 45. In Jer. 9. 23 it is in appos. to בְּזֹאת following the verb יִתְהַלֵּל *glory in*.

(*c*) It may itself like a finite verb take a dir. obj., Hos. 10. 4 כָּרֹת בְּרִית *making covenants;* Is. 22. 13 חָגֹר בָּקָר וְשָׁחֹט צֹאן killing *oxen* and slaying *sheep*. Is. 5. 5; 21. 5; 59. 4, 13, Pr. 25. 4, 5. Or, like a phrasal finite verb, govern via a "prep", Is. 7. 15 מָאוֹס בָּרָע וּבָחוֹר בַּטּוֹב to refuse *evil* and choose *good*.

(*d*) It may, though not commonly, follow a prep., 1 S. 1. 9 אַחֲרֵי שָׁתוֹת *after* drinking, 2 K. 13. 17, 19, Is. 30. 15. Or, rather more commonly, another noun in constr., Is. 14. 23 בְּמַטְאֲטֵא הַשְׁמֵד with *the broom of* destruction, Pr. 1. 3; 21. 16.

§ 101. The most characteristic use of the infin. absol. is as complement to a cognate verb. — (*a*) When *before* its verb, it serves as a strengthening or emphasizing complement. Traditionally this has been spoken of as in the "accusative" case, more particularly as a cognate or internal "accusative" (see § 93); but now that its equivalent in Ugaritic has (in final Aleph verbs) been discovered to carry the nominative *-u* ending, it should rather be regarded as a special kind of *subject* compl. In effect, the subj. of the finite verb is twice described as taking part in a certain action or being in a certain state. The intensification of meaning which results, however, is not of the kind associated with the Piel (e.g. שָׁבַר *break*, שִׁבֵּר *smash*); it does not simply apply to the finite verb but to the whole clause, the appropriate Engl. translation depending on what kind of clause it is. Thus the infin. absol. strengthens the note of certainty in affirmations and in promises or threats, and of contrast in adversative or concessionary statements, while it reinforces any sense of supposition or doubt or volition present in conditional clauses or questions or wishes. It is not often found in narrative. A translation by an

adv. like *indeed, surely, of course, even, really, at all,* etc. or by a modal *should, could, must, may,* etc. may catch the nuance, but is often unnecessarily strong.

Exx. of *affirmation*: Gen. 2. 17 מוֹת תָּמוּת *you shall* (surely) *die;* 16. 10; 18. 10, 2 S. 5. 19. Frequently in injunctions: Ex. 21. 28 סָקוֹל יִסָּקֵל הַשּׁוֹר the ox *shall be stoned;* 23. 4; Deu. 12. 2, and often. *Antithesis*: Jud. 15. 13 לֹא כִי אָסֹר נֶאְסָרְךָ וְהָמֵת לֹא נְמִיתֶךָּ no, *we will bind you, but we will not kill you.* Deu. 7. 26; 13. 10; 21. 14, 1 S. 6. 3, 2 S. 24. 24, 1 K. 11. 22, Is. 28. 28, Jer. 32. 4; 34. 3, Am. 9. 8. *Concession*: Gen. 31. 30 וְעַתָּה הָלֹךְ הָלַכְתָּ *well, you have gone off* because, etc. (but why steal my gods?), 1 S. 2. 30. *Supposition* (very common): Ex. 21. 5 וְאִם אָמֹר יֹאמַר הָעֶבֶד but *if the slave should say;* 22. 3, 11, 12, 16, 22, Jud. 11. 30; 14. 12, 1 S. 1. 11; 20. 6, 9, 21, 2 S. 18. 3. *In questions*: Gen. 24. 5 הֲהָשֵׁב אָשִׁיב אֶת־בִּנְךָ *am I, then, to bring back* your son? 37. 8, 10 הֲמָלֹךְ תִּמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ *shall you* (indeed) *rule over us?* 43. 7 הֲיָדֹעַ נֵדַע כִּי יֹאמַר *were we* (then) *to know?* Nu. 22. 30, 37, 38, Jud. 11. 25, 1 S. 2. 27, 2 K. 18. 33, Is. 50. 2, Jer. 26. 19, Ez. 14. 3; 18. 23, Zech. 7. 5. *In wishes:* Job 6. 2 לוּ שָׁקוֹל יִשָּׁקֵל כַּעְשִׂי *would that* my vexation *could be weighed!* 1 S. 14. 30, Job 13. 5.

The peculiar emphasis of infin. absol. is well felt when a speaker gives a report regarding circumstances, or repeats (directly or indirectly) the words of another, or his own thoughts. Gen. 43. 3, 7, Jud. 9. 8; 15. 2, 1 S. 10. 16; 14. 28, 43; 20. 3, 6, 28; 23. 22, 2 S. 1. 6. Also when restrictive particles אַךְ, רַק, are used, Gen. 44. 28, Jud. 7. 19 (*just then*). In narrative, Gen. 27. 30 (*just*)

(*b*) In negative clause infin. absol. precedes the neg., and the negation is emphasized. Is. 30. 19 בָּכוֹ לֹא־תִבְכֶּה you shall *not* weep. Ex. 8. 24; 34. 7, Deu. 21. 14, 1 K. 3. 27, Jer. 13. 12, Am. 3. 5, Dan. 10. 3. So in narrative or report, Jud. 1. 28, Jer. 6. 15. With אַל, 1 K. 3. 26, Mic. 1. 10. Exceptions occur mostly when a denial is given to previous words, Gen. 3. 4, Am. 9. 8, Ps. 49. 8.

(*c*) When placed as a (subj.) compl. *after* its verb, infin. absol. has often clearly the same force as when before it. 2 K. 5. 11 אָמַרְתִּי אֵלַי יֵצֵא יָצוֹא I thought, *He will* (certainly) *come out to me,* Nu. 23. 11, 2 S. 3. 24; 6. 20, Jer. 23. 39, Dan. 11. 10, 13. In this case infin. absol. is sometimes strengthened by גַּם. Gen. 46. 4 וְאָנֹכִי אַעֲלְךָ גַּם־עָלֹה *I will indeed bring you up;* 31. 15, Nu. 16. 13. Infin. absol. always stands after *imper.* and

nearly always after *ptcp.*, Nu. 11. 15 הָרְגֵנִי־נָא הָרֹג *kill me rather* (at once), Jud. 5. 23, Is. 6. 9, Jer. 22. 10. Is. 22. 17 הִנֵּה י׳ מְטַלְטֶלְךָ טַלְטֵלָה behold, Y. *will hurl you violently away*, Jer. 23. 17.

But infin. absol. after its verb often seems to suggest an indefinitely prolonged state of the action, and therefore to express continuance, prevalence, etc. This use, however, need not be thought of as different from the intensifying use; rather it is the way in which the intensification works out when the verb is one of motion or implies a lengthy action. By its nature, this use is commoner in narrative. Nu. 11. 32 וַיִּשְׁטְחוּ לָהֶם שָׁטוֹחַ *and they kept spreading them out* (the quails), Jer. 6. 29. The nuance of continuity becomes clearer when an infin. absol. of another verb is added, Jud. 14. 9 וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְאָכֹל *he went on, eating as he went;* Gen. 8. 7 וַיֵּצֵא יָצוֹא וָשׁוֹב *and it went out and back.* 1 S. 6. 12, 1 K. 20. 37, 2 K. 2. 11, Is. 19. 22. Significantly this infin. absol. may occur *before* verb, Is. 3. 16, cf. Ps. 126. 6.

Rem. 1. The infin. absol. is oftenest of the same stem as the finite, whether before or after it, *e.g. Qal* Gen. 2. 16, *Niph.* Ex. 22. 3, *Piel* Gen. 22. 17, *Pual* 40. 15, *Hiph.* 3. 16, *Hoph.* Ex. 16. 4, *Hithpa.* Nu. 16. 13. But as infin. absolute of Qal expresses the idea of the verb in general, it may be joined with any other stem, *e.g.* with *Niph.* Ex. 21. 20, with *Piel* 2 S. 20. 18, with *Pual* Gen. 37. 33, with *Hiph.* 1 S. 23. 22, Gen. 46. 4, with *Hoph.* Ex. 21. 12 (and always in this phrase *shall be put to death*), with *Hithpo.* Is. 24. 19. Other combinations are rarer, *e.g.* infin. absol. *Hoph.* with *Niph.* 2 K. 3. 23, and with *Pual* Ez. 16. 4; infin. absol. *Piel* with *Hiph.* 1 S. 2. 16. On occasion the infin. is from another verb, cognate and similar in sound, Is. 28. 28, Jer. 8. 13; 48. 9, Zeph. 1. 2, thus retaining the paranomastic flavour of the construction.

Rem. 2. Instead of infin. absol., the verb with cognate obj. or other construction with play on words is sometimes used: Is. 35. 2, Jer. 46. 5, Mic. 4. 9, Hab. 3. 9, Job 27. 12, cf. Is. 29. 14, both infin. absol. and cognate noun.

Rem. 3. The verb הָלַךְ with its infin. absol. is followed: (*a*) mostly by another infin. absol. as above in *c*, *e.g.* 2 S. 3. 16 וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וּבָכֹה, Jos. 6. 9, 2 K. 2. 11; but (*b*) also by ptcp., 2 S. 18. 25 וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְקָרֵב, Jer. 41. 6, cf. with other verbs 2 S. 16. 5 (in 1 S. 17. 41 הֹלֵךְ is also ptcp.); and (*c*) by a finite form, 2 S. 16. 13 וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וַיְקַלֵּל, Jos. 6. 13, 1 S. 19. 23, 2 S. 13. 19, cf. with other verb Is. 31. 5.

But הָלַךְ is often used in a metaphorical sense to express *progress, continuance,* etc. in an action or condition, the latter being expressed by ptcp. or adj., Gen. 26. 13 וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְגָדֵל *he grew ever greater*, Jud. 4. 24, 1 S. 14. 19,

2 S. 5. 10, 1 Chr. 11. 9. In the same sense the ptcp. הֹלֵךְ is used in a nominal clause, 2 S. 3. 1 וְדָוִד הֹלֵךְ וְחָזֵק D. *grew stronger and stronger*, Ex. 19. 19, 1 S. 2. 26, 2 Chr. 17. 12, Est. 9. 4. In Pr. 4. 18 הוֹלֵךְ is followed by infin. absol.

Used adverbially with infin. absol. of other verbs infin. absol. of הָלַךְ expresses the same idea of progress or endurance. Gen. 12. 9 וַיִּסַּע הָלוֹךְ וְנָסוֹעַ *he continued always journeying;* 8. 3 *receded more and more*, cf. *vs.* 5.

§ 102. Adverbial use of infin. absol. — The infin. absol. is used in all genres as a compl. to describe adverbially the manner, degree, etc., of the action expressed by a previous non-cognate verb. This infin. is without *and*, but other infin. may be added to it. Deu. 9. 21 וָאֶכֹּת אֹתוֹ אָקִים אֶת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר טָחוֹן הֵיטֵב and I beat it, *grinding it small;* 1 S. 3. 12 דִּבַּרְתִּי הָחֵל וְכַלֵּה I will fulfil all that I have spoken, *from beginning to end.* Gen. 21. 16; 30. 32, 37, Nu. 6. 23, Jos. 3. 17; 6. 3, 11, 1 S. 17. 16, 2 S. 8. 2, Is. 57. 17, Jer. 3. 15; 12. 17; 22. 19, Mic. 6. 13, Zech. 7. 3. Cf. Is. 31. 5. Some infin. absol. (chiefly Hiph.) have become in effect straightforward adverbs, as הֵיטֵב *well, very* (Deu. 9. 21 above), הַרְבֵּה *much, very* (1 S. 26. 21), הַרְחֵק *far* (Gen. 21. 16, Jos. 3. 16). So Piel מַהֵר *quickly* (Ex. 32. 8).

Rem. 1. Perhaps belonging here with the adv. sense of *earnestly* is the common phrase of Jer., e.g. 7. 13 הַשְׁכֵּם וְדַבֵּר ... וָאֲדַבֵּר I spoke, *earnestly speaking*, in which infin. of first verb is repeated; 11. 7; 26. 5 (oddly with *and*); 29. 19; 32. 33; 35. 14, 15. But הַשְׁכֵּם may rather have the nuance of continuity or repetition, like הָלוֹךְ (§ 101, R. 3) e.g. 7. 13 *over a long period;* 26. 5 *again and again.*

§ 103. The use of infin. absol. instead of inflected form is also common. — (*a*) Without significant force when an inflected form has already been used, i.e. in connected narrative or discourse. This infin. may follow any inflected form and, unlike the compl. infin., is introduced by *and*. Jud. 7. 19 וַיִּתְקְעוּ בַּשּׁוֹפָרוֹת וְנָפוֹץ הַכַּדִּים they blew the trumpets, *and broke* (there was *breaking* of) the pitchers; 1 K. 9. 25 וְהֶעֱלָה שׁ׳ וְהַקְטִיר Sol. used to offer sacrifice (freq.) *and burn incense;* Jer. 14. 5 גַּם־אַיֶּלֶת בַּשָּׂדֶה יָלְדָה וְעָזוֹב even the hind in the field calves, *and forsakes* (her young); 32. 44 שָׂדוֹת יִקְנוּ וְכָתוֹב בַּסֵּפֶר וְחָתוֹם וְהָעֵד עֵדִים they shall buy fields, *and subscribe deeds, and seal them, and take witnesses.* Rem. 1.

(*b*) With more force on its own without a preceding finite form, *e.g.* in injunctions, espec. divine or of general application; in proverbial sayings or descriptions of prevailing conduct or condition of things; but also in any case where the action in itself is to be vividly expressed. This use belongs particularly to discourse. Ex. 20. 8 זָכוֹר אֶת־יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת *remember* the sabbath day!; Hos. 4. 2 אָלֹה וְכַחֵשׁ וְרָצֹחַ וְגָנֹב וְנָאֹף *false swearing, and lying, and murder, and theft, and adultery* (they practise)!; Pr. 15. 22 הָפֵר מַחֲשָׁבוֹת בְּאֵין סוֹד plans *fail* for lack of counsel; Jer. 8. 15 קִוֵּה לְשָׁלוֹם וְאֵין טוֹב *we looked* for peace, but no good (has come)!; 1 K. 22. 30 הִתְחַפֵּשׂ וָבֹא בַּמִּלְחָמָה *disguise myself* (will I) *and go* into battle!; 2 K. 4. 43 כֹּה אָמַר י׳ אָכוֹל וְהוֹתֵר thus says Y., *They shall eat and - have some left!*

Rem. 1. Exx. of *a*. After QATAL forms, 1 S. 2. 27, 28, Jer. 19. 13, Hos. 10. 4, Hag. 1. 6, Zech. 3. 4; 7. 5, 1 Chr. 5. 20, 2 Chr. 28. 19, Ecc. 4. 1, 2; 9. 11, Est. 9. 6, 12, 16, cf. 17, Dan. 9. 5. — After YIQTOL, Jer. 32. 44; 36. 23. With אוֹ *or*, Lev. 25. 14, Nu. 30. 3, Deu. 14. 21. — After *Vav* cons. QATAL, Jer. 22. 14, Zech. 12. 10. — After infin. constr., 1 S. 22. 13, Jer. 7. 18. — After ptcp., Hab. 2. 15, Est. 8. 8.

Rem. 2. Exx. of *b*. Infin. absol. as imper., Ex. 13. 3, Nu. 4. 2, Deu. 1. 16; 5. 12; 31. 26, Jos. 1. 13, 2 K. 3. 16, Is. 14. 31; 37. 30, Zech. 6. 10, Pr. 25. 4, 5. So הָלוֹךְ *go!* 2 S. 24. 12, 2 K. 5. 10, and often in Jer., 2.2; 3. 12, etc. — As juss., Gen. 17. 10, Ex. 12. 48, Is. 22. 13, Pr. 17. 12. — Of prevailing conduct, etc., Is. 21. 5; 59. 4, 13, Jer. 7. 9; 14. 19, Ez. 21. 31, Hag. 1. 9. — With more or less force, 2 K. 4. 43, Is. 5. 5, Jer. 3. 1 (וְשׁוּב), Ez. 23. 30, Job 40. 2.

Rem. 3. Like infin. constr. (§ 107) but less commonly, infin. absol. when used for finite verb may be continued by finite form, Is. 42. 22; 58. 6.

Rem. 4. When infin. absol. is used for finite verb the *subj.* is occasionally expressed with it, Gen. 17. 10, Lev. 6. 7, Nu. 15. 35, Deu. 15. 2, 1 S. 25. 26, Is. 42. 22, Ps. 17. 5, Job 40. 2, Pr. 17. 12, Ecc. 4. 2, Est. 9. 1.

The Infinitive Construct

§ 104. The infin. constr. is the normal Hebr. infin.-cum-gerund. It has the qualities of both noun and verb, as the first capable of being put into the constr. state and admitting prepp. and suffixes, as the second of taking an obj. It is defin. but does not, except rarely, have the Art.

Rem. 1. The infin. constr. sometimes has a fem. form, as אַהֲבָה *to love*,

שִׂנְאָה *to hate*, יִרְאָה *to fear*, קִרְאָה *to meet*, מָשְׁחָה *to anoint* (Ex. 29. 29), קִרְבָה *to approach*. So in verbs initial *Yod* (שֶׁבֶת) or finally weak (עֲשׂוֹת). Or it may have -מ prefix in the Aramaic manner, as מִקְרָא *to call* and מַסַּע *to depart* (Nu. 10. 2), מִקַּח *to take* (2 Chr. 19. 7); with fem. ending מַעֲלָה *to go up* (Ezr. 7. 9). Regardless of form the infin. constr. is usually mas. in gender (Gen. 2. 18, Pr. 25. 24), very occasionally fem. (1 S. 18. 23, Jer. 23. 17).

§ 105. As noun or gerund, the infin. constr. occurs in all syntactic positions. — (*a*) It may be subj. to a nominal clause, espec. when the pred. is "good" or "not good", but also otherwise. Gen. 2. 18 לֹא טוֹב הֱיוֹת הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ *the man's being alone* is not good; Is. 7. 13 הַמְעַט מִכֶּם הַלְאוֹת אֲנָשִׁים is *wearying men* too little for you? Gen. 29. 19; 30. 15, Ex. 14. 12, Jud. 9. 2; 18. 19, 1 S. 15. 22; 23. 20; 29. 6, 2 S. 18. 11, Is. 28. 19, Mic. 3. 2, Ps. 118. 8-9, Pr. 10. 23; 13. 19; 16. 6, 12, 16.

(*b*) It may be governed by a noun in constr. state or a prep. Gen. 2. 4 בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת יי in the day *of Y.'s making;* 14. 17 אַחֲרֵי שׁוּבוֹ מֵהַכּוֹת after *his returning* from *smiting* Gen. 2. 17; 21. 5; 24. 30; 29. 7, Is. 7. 17, Hos. 2. 5, 17, etc. Also, though rarely, after an adj. or ptcp. in constr., Is. 56. 10, Jer. 13. 23. After כֹּל *all*, Gen. 30. 41, 1 K. 8. 52, Ps. 132. 1, 1 Chr. 23. 31.

(*c*) It may be dir. obj. to certain trans. verbs as *begin, cease, know* (how), *add* (do again), etc. 1 K. 3. 7 לֹא אֵדַע צֵאת וָבֹא I do not know (how) *to go out or come in.* Gen. 8. 10, Ex. 2. 3, Deu. 2. 25, 2 K. 19. 27, Is. 1. 14; 11. 9, Jer. 15. 15, Am. 3. 10, Ps. 101. 3. Or obj. compl. following intrans. verbs as *be willing, return* (do again), Deu. 10. 10. Further exx. § 97*a*. The sign אֵת may be used, 2 K. 19. 27, Is. 37. 28.

However, the infin. constr. with לְ has in usage greatly replaced the simple infin. when *obj.*, Gen. 18. 29 וַיֹּסֶף עוֹד לְדַבֵּר; 11. 8; 13. 6, etc. So when obj. compl., Hab. 2. 16. This form also occurs as subj. in nominal clauses, where it can hardly express the direction of action of a governing verb, 2 S. 18. 11, Ps. 118. 8-9, Pr. 21. 9 (contrast 25. 24). The לְ should therefore be regarded as an ex. of non-prepos. לְ equivalent to אֵת, § 94, R. 8, and distinguished from prepos. uses, § 118, R. 2.

§ 106. The infin. constr. may have its own subj. and obj., both appended either in the nominal or in the verbal manner.

(*a*) The subj. or agent generally follows the infin. constr. in a construct relation. Gen. 2. 4 עֲשׂוֹת יי *Y.'s* making; 16. 16; 24. 11, Ex. 17. 1, Hos. 3. 1. So when suff., Gen. 3. 19 עַד שׁוּבְךָ אֶל־הָאֲדָמָה; 3. 5; 39. 18.

This construction is clearest when the infin. is fem. and reducible, Gen. 19. 16 בְּחֶמְלַת י׳ עָלָיו in *Y.'s* pitying him; Deu. 1. 27 בְּשִׂנְאַת י׳ אֹתָנוּ because *Y.* hated us. Deu. 7. 8, 1 K. 10. 9, Is. 13. 19.

When, however, the subj. is separated from the infin. by the obj. or other intervening words, the construct relation is broken and the construction is essentially verbal. Perhaps the noun denoting the agent is in appos. to the implied subj. of the infin., or it is simply treated as though it were the subj. of a finite verb, the whole clause then becoming a bound unit and able, e.g., to be construed with a prep. Is. 20. 1 בִּשְׁלֹחַ אֹתוֹ סַרְגוֹן when *Sargon* sent him. Gen. 4. 15, Nu. 24. 23, Deu. 4. 42, Jos. 14. 11, Jud. 9. 2, 1 S. 16. 16, 2 S. 18. 29, Is. 5. 4, Jer. 21. 1, Ez. 17. 10, Ps. 51. 2; 56. 1; 76. 10; 142. 4, Pr. 1. 27; 25. 8, Job 34. 22. There are also indications that this construction is employed in cases where no words come between infin. and subj., Rem. 2.

(*b*) Before an obj., on the other hand, the infin. constr. normally behaves verbally. This is clear in a large number of cases, as when the infin. constr. is followed by אֵת or by a verbal suff. of 1 pers. sing., or is fem. in form and changeable or involves לָ or comes from Hiph. of a medially weak verb (Rem. 2); and may be assumed in most other cases. 1 S. 19. 1 לְהָמִית אֶת־דָּוִד to slay *David*, Gen. 14. 17; 19. 29, Ex. 38. 27, 1 K. 12. 15; 15. 4. Ex. 2. 14 הֲלְהָרְגֵנִי אַתָּה אֹמֵר do you intend to kill *me?* 1 S. 5. 10; 27. 1; 28. 9, Ru. 2. 10. Deu. 10. 15 לְאַהֲבָה אוֹתָם to love *them*, Ex. 2.4. Ps. 50. 4 לָדִין עַמּוֹ to judge *his people*, Is. 3. 13. So also when the infin. has a subj. as well as an obj., Gen. 2. 4 בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת י׳ א׳ אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמָיִם in the day that Y. God made *earth and heaven;* 39. 18 כַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי as soon as I lifted up *my voice*, though in most of these cases אֵת is also used, Hos. 3. 1 כְּאַהֲבַת י׳ אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל as Y. loves *the people of Israel*, Gen. 13. 10; 39. 19, 1 K. 11. 24; 13. 31, Is. 10. 15, Am. 1. 3. And by analogy where the subj. is not expressed, Jud. 14. 6 כְּשַׁסַּע הַגְּדִי as one tears *a kid*, 1 K. 18. 28, Is. 10. 14; 17. 5, Ps. 66. 10. Rem. 1.

There are, however, cases where the obj. is expressed though a construct relation, clearest where a 1 pers. sing. suffix has the nominal form or the infin. has a fem. form. Ps. 73. 28 קָרְבַת א׳ to draw near to *God*; Mic. 6. 8 אַהֲבַת חֶסֶד to love *mercy;* 1 S. 17. 48 לִקְרַאת דָּוִד to meet *David;* 25. 32 לִקְרָאתִי to meet *me*. The obj. may be indir., Nu. 22. 13 Y. has refused לְתִתִּי to let *me* go with you. For other suffixes see Rem. 3.

When the finite verb is a phrasal verb or is normally construed with a prep., so is the infin., Deu. 11. 22; 20. 4.

Rem. 1. The subj., especially when a pron. is often omitted: (*a*) when clear from the context, Gen. 24. 30 כִּרְאֹת *when he saw;* 19. 29, Deu. 4. 21, 1 K. 20. 12, Ez. 8. 6. (*b*) When indeterminate, Gen. 33. 10 כִּרְאֹת *as one sees,* Jud. 14. 6, 1 S. 2. 13; 18. 19, 2 S. 3. 34; 7. 29, Is. 7. 22; 10. 14. — Gen. 25. 26, Ex. 27. 7; 30. 12, Nu. 9. 15; 10. 7, Zeph. 2. 2, Zech. 13. 9, Ps. 42. 4 (cf. *vs.* 11), Job 13. 9; 20. 4. The *obj.* is also often omitted, when a pron., in the same circumstances. § 3, R. 3.

Rem. 2. Though it may not be separated from infin. (*a* above), the subj. cannot belong to a construct relation, *e.g.* when לְ of infin. retains prestress *Qameṣ*: 2 S. 19. 20 לָשׂוּם הַמֶּלֶךְ that *the king* should lay (it) to heart, Job 37. 7 (contrast Gen. 16. 3 לְשֶׁבֶת אַבְרָם, 2 K. 6. 1). The infin. Hiph. of verbs medially weak is reduced before suff. (Gen. 39. 18 in *b* above) but never when it is followed by a nominal subj. or obj.; the subj. no less than the obj. must therefore be construed verbally, Is. 10. 15 כְּהָנִיף שֵׁבֶט as though *a rod* should wield him who lifts it; 14. 3 בְּיוֹם הָנִיחַ יי לְךָ in the day that *Y.* gives you rest, 2 S. 17. 14, Ps. 46. 3. With obj., 1 S. 19. 1 (see *b* above), Pr. 8. 27.

Rem. 3. The only verbal suff. regularly used with infin. constr. is that of 1 sing., though others are occasionally found, *e.g.* 3 sing. mas. Jer. 39. 14 לְהוֹצִיאֵהוּ; *energicum* Deu. 23. 5 לְקַלְלֶךָּ. On the other hand, the nominal form of the 1 sing. suff. occurs as obj. in לִקְרָאתִי and some other cases; and all the other suffixes have forms which could be either nominal or verbal. It is likely that most suffixes, when obj:, are verbal, espec. where the infin. has another obj. or takes part in a two-verb construction (§ 97*a*) or expresses purpose or accompanies another infin. which has אֵת or behaves verbally, etc. Comp. exx. like Gen. 37. 4 דַּבְּרוֹ (indir.) *to speak to him;* 37. 22, Deu. 1. 27; 9. 28; 26. 19 (Ps. 89. 28), Jud. 13. 23; 14. 8; 18. 2, 1 S. 2. 25; 19. 11, 1 K. 20. 35, 2 K. 9. 35, Ps. 106. 23, 26, 27, etc. But this is not certain, and it is possible that some suffixes (and indeed some nouns) belong to a construct relation, the second member of which may express the obj. as well as the subj. The whole matter of the subj. and obj. of infin. constr. requires more careful investigation.

§ 107. The most characteristic usage of infin. constr. is as a clause substitute after a prep. Such phrases have all the meanings of the finite forms with conjunctions. Thus *temporal:* Gen. 4. 8 בִּהְיוֹתָם בַּשָּׂדֶה *when they were* in the field; 3. 19 עַד שׁוּבְךָ *until you return;* 39. 18 כַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי *as soon as I lifted up* my voice. *Causal:* Deu. 1. 27 בְּשִׂנְאַת יי אֹתָנוּ *because Y. hated* us; Is. 30. 12 יַעַן מָאָסְכֶם *because you despise;* Am. 2. 6 עַל־

מִכְרָם *because they sell. Purpose*: Gen. 2. 15 לְעָבְדָהּ *to work it;* Deu. 2. 30 לְמַעַן תִּתּוֹ בְיָדֶךָ *that he might give him* into your hand; Jud. 3. 1 לְנַסּוֹת *to test* Israel by them. *Result*: Deu. 9. 18 לְהַכְעִיסוֹ *so provoking him to anger;* Ru. 2. 10 לְהַכִּירֵנִי *that you should notice me.* The prepp. become conjunctions, taking finite forms, by combination with the rel. אֲשֶׁר. Comp. Gen. 18. 12 with Jud. 11. 36, 2 S. 19. 31; Am. 1. 11 with 2 S. 3. 30; 2 S. 3. 11 with Is. 43. 4. — Gen. 13. 10; 27. 4; 34. 7; 35. 1, Jud. 2. 22, 1 S. 1. 7; 9. 15, Am. 5. 11. See further Adverbial Phrases and Clauses, § 119.

Following such infin. phrases, when new clauses are added with *and*, the infin. is very generally changed into the finite construction. The finite conjugation consecutive to the infin. and the wider context will show the nuances of aspect and time in which the infin. is used. In past context: Gen. 39. 18 כַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי וָאֶקְרָא as soon as I lifted up my voice *and cried.* In fut. context: 2 K. 18. 32 עַד־בֹּאִי וְלָקַחְתִּי till I come *and take.* Past frequentative: Am. 1. 11 עַל־רָדְפוֹ בַחֶרֶב אָחִיו וְשִׁחֵת רַחֲמָיו because he pursued his brother with the sword *and cast off pity.* Gen. 27. 45, Jud. 6. 18, 1 S. 24. 12, Is. 5. 24; 10. 2; 13. 9; 30. 12, 26; 45. 1, Jer. 9. 12, Ps. 104. 14, 15. This resolution is necessary with a neg. clause, Am. 1. 9.

§ 108. The prep. לְ, in addition to expressing purpose or result (§ 126*b*), has three other common uses with infin. — (*a*) In a gerundial or adverbial sense to explain the circumstances of a previous action. 1 S. 14. 33 הָעָם חֹטְאִים לֶאֱכֹל עַל־הַדָּם the people are sinning *in eating* with the blood; 1 K. 5. 23 תַּעֲשֶׂה אֶת־חֶפְצִי לָתֵת לֶחֶם בֵּיתִי you will meet my wishes *by giving* bread for my household. Gen. 18. 25; 19. 19; 29. 26; 34. 7; 43. 6, 1 S. 12. 17, 19; 19. 5; 20. 20, 2 S. 14. 20, 1 K. 8. 32; 14. 8; 16. 19. So the ubiquitous לֵאמֹר *saying.* Similarly in explanation of a comparison, Gen. 3. 22 the man has become like one of us לָדַעַת טוֹב וָרָע *to know good and evil.* 2 S. 14. 25, Is. 21. 1, Ez. 38. 16, Pr. 26. 2, 1 Chr. 12. 8.

(*b*) In nominal clauses as a periphrastic fut., Gen. 15. 12 וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא and it was, *the sun was about to set,* Jos. 2. 5. Is. 38. 20 יְ׳ לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי *Y. is* (ready, about) *to save me.* Is. 10. 32, Ps. 25. 14; 49. 15, Pr. 19. 8, Ecc. 3. 15, 1 Chr. 9. 25.

(*c*) Or as a gerundive, in the sense of *is to be, must be, ought to be.* 2 K. 4. 13 מֶה לַעֲשׂוֹת לָךְ הֲיֵשׁ לְדַבֶּר־לָךְ *what is to be done for you? should one speak for you* to the king? 2 K. 13. 19 לְהַכּוֹת חָמֵשׁ אוֹ־שֵׁשׁ

פְּעָמִים *you should have struck* five or six times. Is. 5. 4, Jer. 51. 49, Hos. 9. 13, Ps. 22. 9, Job 30. 6. Or in the sense of *can be*, Jud. 1. 19 (§ 109*b*), 2 S. 14. 19 (אֵשׁ = יֵשׁ).

§ 109. The *negative* infin. is formed — (*a*) Usually by particle בְּלִתִּי with לְ. This negatives non-prepos. לְ with infin. (§ 105*c*) after, *e.g.*, verbs of *commanding, agreeing, swearing*, Gen. 3. 11 צִוִּיתִיךָ לְבִלְתִּי אֲכָל־מִמֶּנּוּ I commanded you *not to eat of it*, Deu. 4. 21, Jos. 5. 6, 1 K. 11. 10, 2 K. 12. 9. It also negatives prepos. לְ with infin. in its various uses, *e.g.* when it expresses purpose, Gen. 4. 15 לְבִלְתִּי הַכּוֹת־אֹתוֹ כָּל־מֹצְאוֹ *lest* any who found him *should kill him;* 38. 9; and frequently in its gerundial or explicative sense, Ex. 8. 25 only let not Ph. deal falsely again לְבִלְתִּי שַׁלַּח אֶת־הָעָם *by not letting the people go.* Gen. 19. 21, Deu. 8. 11; 17. 12, Jud. 2. 23; 8. 1, Jer. 16. 12; 17. 23, 24, 27. On מִן as negative, Rem. 1

(*b*) The infin. in nominal clauses (above *b, c*) is negatived by לֹא לְ or אֵין לְ. Am. 6. 10 לֹא לְהַזְכִּיר בְּשֵׁם יי the name of Y. *must not be mentioned;* Jud. 1. 19 כִּי לֹא לְהוֹרִישׁ but *he could not dispossess* the inhabitants of the plain, 1 Chr. 5. 1. Est. 4. 2 כִּי אֵין לָבוֹא אֶל־הַשַּׁעַר for *no one might enter* the gate. Ps. 40. 6, Ecc. 3. 14, Ezr. 9. 15, 2 Chr. 5. 11; 20. 6, 17; 22. 9, Est. 8. 8. There seems no difference in sense between לֹא לְ and אֵין לְ, though the latter is common in later style; cf. 1 Chr. 15. 2 with 23. 26.

Rem. 1. The infin. with מִן is used after verbs of *restraining, ceasing*, etc., Gen. 16. 2 Y. has prevented me מִלֶּדֶת *from bearing children;* 20. 6, Ex. 23. 5; 34. 33. Occasionally with causal force, Deu. 7. 8, negatived by מִבְּלִתִּי, Nu. 14. 16. מִן *away from* may also negative an infin., as Is. 5. 6 command *not to rain* (מֵהַמְטִיר). So after *to swear*, Is. 54. 9, cf. Deu. 4. 21, and *to beware*, Gen. 31. 29 (cf. *vs.* 24), 2 K. 6. 9.

Rem. 2. The infin. constr. with *and* is used, particularly in poetry and later texts, in continuation of a preceding finite form (or ptcp.). This is not, strictly speaking, a substitute for a finite form (as infin. absol., § 103), but rather an extension of the nominal uses in § 108*b, c;* there is often a nuance of purpose. Several times וְלָתֵת Ex. 32. 29, Jer. 17. 10; 19. 12, Dan. 12. 11. Other exx.: Is. 44. 28, Jer. 44. 19, Ez. 13. 22, Hos. 12. 3, Am. 8. 4, Ps. 104. 21, Job 34. 8. Lev. 10. 10, 1 S. 8. 12, Ecc. 9. 1, Neh. 8. 13, 1 Chr. 6. 34; 10. 13, 2 Chr. 7. 17; 8. 13. Prep. לְ omitted, 1 Chr. 21. 24.

Rem. 3. Though Niph., Pual, Hoph. have their proper infin., the Qal (or sometimes other active) infin. is often used where pass. infin. might be expected. Gen. 4. 13 my punishment is greater מִנְּשׂוֹא *than can be borne* (or

my iniquity ... *than can be forgiven*), Jos. 2. 5, 1 S. 18. 19, Is. 8. 3, Jer. 25. 34; 41. 4, Hos. 10. 10, Hag. 2. 15, Ps. 67. 3, Job 20. 4, Ecc. 3. 2, Est. 7. 4.

THE PARTICIPLES

§ 110. The ptcp. also partakes of the nature of the noun (adj.) and the verb. The *active* ptcp. presents the person or subj. in the exercise or exhibition of the action or condition denoted by the verb. In many contexts and with suitable verbs it implies continuity, but this is not a necessary part of its meaning, as in other contexts and with other verbs it indicates a simple punctual action. The *passive* ptcp. describes the subj. as having the action exercised upon him; if it differs from the adj. it is in presenting the state of the subj. as the result of an action.

Rem. 1. Act. ptcps. expressing conditions or operations which are habitual come to be used as nouns, as אֹהֵב *friend*, אֹיֵב *enemy*, שֹׁפֵט *judge*, שֹׁמֵר *watchman*, חֹזֶה *seer*, etc. Pass. ptcps. likewise in usage become adjectives. The ptcp. Niph. in particular has the sense of the Latin gerundive and adj. in *-bilis*, as נוֹרָא *to be feared, terrible*, נֶחְשָׁב *to be accounted*, נֶחְמָד *desirable*, נֶתְעָב *detestable*, נִכְבָּד *honourable*. Occasionally ptcp. Pual, מְהֻלָּל *to be praised*, Ps. 96. 4. Possibly Qal, Ps. 137. 8. See Is. 2. 22, Ps. 18. 4; 19. 11; 22. 32; 76. 8; 102. 19, Job 15. 16. Such nouns and adj. are distinguished from proper ptcps. by coming first in a classifying nominal clause, Gen. 42. 14 מְרַגְּלִים אַתֶּם you are *spies*, Ps. 96. 4 נוֹרָא הוּא he is *to be feared*, § 49*d*. Ptcps. normally follow the subj., § 113*b*.

§ 111. Construction of ptcp. The ptcp. is construed — (*a*) Verbally, with a dir. obj. Gen. 32. 12 כִּי יָרֵא אָנֹכִי אֹתוֹ for *I fear him;* 25. 28 רִבְקָה אֹהֶבֶת אֶת־יַעֲקֹב *Reb. loved Jacob*. Gen. 27. 8; 37. 7, 16; 40. 8, 17; 41. 9; 42. 29, 1 S. 11. 3, 2 S. 14. 18, 1 K. 18. 3, Am. 5. 8, 9, 18. With a prep., if the finite verb takes one. Gen. 26. 11 הַנֹּגֵעַ בָּאִישׁ הַזֶּה *whoever touches this man;* 16. 13 הַדֹּבֵר אֵלֶיהָ Y. *who spoke to her* 1 S. 17. 19, 2 S. 23. 3, Ps. 89. 10. A ptcp. of a trans. verb may take two obj., indir. and dir., 2 S. 1. 24 הַמַּלְבִּשְׁכֶם שָׁנִי *who clothed you in scarlet*. Or dir. and compl., Zeph. 1. 9 הַמְמַלְאִים בֵּית אֲדֹנֵיהֶם חָמָס וּמִרְמָה *those who fill their master's house with violence and fraud*. The ptcp. of intrans. verb or a pass. ptcp. take obj. compl. Deu. 6. 11 מְלֵאִים כָּל־טוּב *full of every good*, Am. 2. 13. 1 S. 2. 18 חָגוּר אֵפוֹד *girt with an ephod*, Jud. 18. 11, Ez. 9. 2, 3, Neh. 4. 12.

Cogn. obj., 1 K. 1. 40.

(*b*) Or nominally, being in the constr. state. Gen. 3. 5 יֹדְעֵי טוֹב וָרָע *knowing good and evil;* Hos. 2. 7 נֹתְנֵי לַחְמִי וּמֵימַי *who give my bread and water.* This construction is very common; the second member indicates the dir. obj. of an *active* ptcp. or the agent or instrument of a *passive* ptcp. Gen. 22. 12 יָדַעְתִּי כִּי־יְרֵא א׳ אַתָּה I know that *you fear God;* 19. 14, 2 S. 4. 6; 6. 13, 1 K. 12. 21, Is. 5. 8, 18; 19. 8, 9; 28. 6; 29. 21, Jer. 23. 30, Hos. 5. 10; 6. 8; 11. 4, Ps. 19. 8, 9, 136. 4-7. Pass. ptcp., Gen. 24. 31 *blessed by,* 2 S. 5. 8 *hated by,* Is. 53. 4, Job 14. 1. Is. 1. 7 שְׂרֻפוֹת אֵשׁ *burnt with fire.* Gen. 20. 3; 41. 6, Deu. 32. 24, Is. 14. 19; 22. 2; 28. 1 *overcome with wine,* Jer. 18. 21, Hos. 4. 17.

(*c*) In like manner suff. to ptcp. may be verbal or nominal. It is verbal when the ptcp. has the Art. or the suff. has the forms נִי֫ or הוּ֫ or has the *energicum* form or is preceded by אֵת, etc. Deu. 8. 16 הַמַּאֲכִלְךָ מָן *who fed you with manna;* 8. 5 מְיַסְּרְךָ your God *disciplines you;* 13. 6 הַלֹּא־בַבֶּטֶן עֲשָׂנִי עָשֵׂהוּ *who brought you out;* Job 31. 15 הַמּוֹצִיא אֶתְכֶם did not *he who made me* in the womb make him? Deu. 13. 11, Is. 9. 12; 10. 20; 47. 10; 63. 11, Jer. 9. 14; 23. 15, Ps. 18. 33; 81. 11, Job 40. 9. On the other hand, it is nominal when the ptcp. is obviously constr. or has the suff. יִ֫, and in other cases. Gen. 27. 29 מְבָרְכֶיךָ *they who bless you;* 4. 14 כָּל־מֹצְאִי *anyone finding me.* Ex. 20. 5, 6, 1 S. 2. 30, Is. 50. 8, Ps. 7. 5; 55. 13, Job 7. 8.

Rem. 1. A number of verbs, usually intrans. and construed with a prep., may omit prep. (89*d*), as בָּא *go into,* יָצָא *come out of,* יָשַׁב *dwell in* (Ps. 100. 4, Gen. 44. 4, 2 S. 6. 11) and their act. ptcp. may therefore be put in the constr. state, Gen. 9. 10 מִכֹּל יֹצְאֵי הַתֵּבָה of all *who came out of* the ark; 19. 25; 23. 10, 18; 34. 24; 46. 26, Ex. 1. 5, Jud. 1. 19; 8. 30. Cf. ptcp. of הָלַךְ Jud. 5. 6, of יָרַד Is. 38. 18, even of אָכַל *eat from,* 1 K. 2. 7. In poetry this forcible construction, omitting the prep., is not uncommon with other ptcp., Is. 22. 2 חַלְלֵי־חֶרֶב *slain by the sword,* Mic. 2. 8 *returned from war,* Ps. 88. 6 *lying in the grave.* Particularly with suff., Ps. 18. 40 קָמַי *those rising against me,* cf. Ps. 3. 2. Deu. 33. 11, Is. 22. 3, Ps. 53. 6; 73. 27; 74. 23; 102. 9, Pr. 2. 19.

Rem. 2. Following pass. ptcp. in constr. the second member often has adverbial force (like the so-called "adverbial accus." with a finite verb), Is. 3. 3 נְשׂוּא פָנִים *he whose face is lifted up;* Ps. 32. 7 כְּסוּי חַטָּאָה *he whose sin is covered.* 2 S. 13. 31, Is. 33. 24, Pr. 14. 2. So with ptcp. of intrans. verb, Is. 1. 30 נֹבֶלֶת עָלֶהָ *fading in its leaf.* With noun first, the whole phrase is adverbial, Ex. 12. 11 מָתְנֵיכֶם חֲגֻרִים *your loins girt,* cf. Jer. 30. 6.

§ 112. The ptcp. becomes virtually a noun, as Is. 19. 20 מוֹשִׁיעַ *a saviour*, and may be subj. or obj. of a clause. When in appos. to a noun it is used as an adj., Deu. 4. 24 אֵשׁ אֹכְלָה *a devouring fire;* 4. 34 *an outstretched arm*, Is. 18. 2. Or subj. compl., Gen. 22. 13 a ram was behind (him) נֶאֱחָז בַּסְּבַךְ בְּקַרְנָיו *caught* in a thicket by its horns (נֶאֱחָז, QATAL is also read). Or obj. compl., Jud. 1. 24 וַיִּרְאוּ אִישׁ יוֹצֵא they saw a man *coming out*. With the Art. the ptcp. may like the adj. designate a class, Am. 5. 13 הַמַּשְׂכִּיל *the prudent* (man), Is. 14. 8; 28. 16, Mic. 4. 6; or have the sense of *he who, whoever*, 2 S. 14. 10 הַמְדַבֵּר אֵלַיִךְ *whoever* (if anyone) *speaks* to you, Gen. 26. 11; and so in constr., Ex. 21. 12 מַכֵּה אִישׁ *whoever strikes* a man, *vs.* 15.

When in appos. to a preceding def. subj. the ptcp. with Art. has the meaning very much of a relative clause. Gen. 12. 7 יְ׳ הַנִּרְאָה אֵלָיו Y. *who had appeared* to him; 1 S. 1. 26 אֲנִי הָאִשָּׁה הַנִּצֶּבֶת I am the woman *who stood*, cf. Jud. 16. 24. This usage is very common: Gen. 13. 5; 27. 33; 35. 3; 43. 12, 18; 48. 15, 16, Ex. 11. 5, Jud. 8. 34, 1 S. 4. 8, 2 S. 1. 24, 2 K. 22. 18, Is. 8. 6, 17, 18; 9. 1, Am. 4. 1; 5. 3, Mic. 3. 2, 3, 5, Ps. 113. 5-7. With pass ptcp., Nu. 21. 8, Jud. 6. 28 the altar *that had been* built; 20.4, the woman *who was murdered*, 1 K. 18. 30, Ps. 79. 10. — Ps. 19. 11 resumes *vs.* 10 (they) *which are more desirable*. Ps. 18. 33; 49. 7.

Rem. 1. The ptcp. with Art. is exceptionally used after *indef.* noun, Jer. 27. 3, Ez. 2. 3; 14. 22, Ps. 119. 21, Dan. 9. 26, though in some of these cases the preceding word may be considered def., though formally undetermined. In other cases the preceding subj. receives a certain definiteness from being connected with *all*, Gen. 1. 21, 28, or a numeral, Jud. 16. 27, cf. 1 S. 25. 10, or from standing in a comparison, Pr. 26. 18, cf. Ps. 62. 4, or from being described by an adj. or ptcp. with Art., Is. 65. 2, cf. *vs.* 3.

Rem. 2. When in adjacent clauses another ptcp. succeeds one with Art. it is often without Art., Is. 5. 20, Am. 6. 4, Job 5. 10. But sometimes the clauses are made parallel and the Art. used, Is. 40. 22, 23, Mic. 3. 5. Occasionally the rel. pron. takes the place of the Art., Deu. 1. 4, Jer. 38. 16, Ez. 9. 2, Ps. 115. 8. Both are used, 1 K. 12. 8; 21. 11.

§ 113. (*a*) The ptcp. as pred., unlike the finite verb, does *not* contain the subj., which must be expressed. 1 S. 19. 11 מָחָר אַתָּה מוּמָת tomorrow *you shall be slain;* Gen. 38. 25 הִוא מוּצֵאת *she was brought forth;* 1 S. 9. 11

הֵמָּה עֹלִים *they were going up*. The pron., however, is often omitted if the subj. has just been mentioned, particularly after הִנֵּה, Gen. 24. 30 וַיָּבֹא אֶל־הָאִישׁ וְהִנֵּה עֹמֵד he came to the man, *and behold, he was standing*. Gen. 37. 15; 41. 1, 1 S. 30. 3, 16, Is. 29. 8, Am. 7. 1. With גַּם, Gen. 32. 7.

(*b*) The ptcp. as pred. nearly always follows the subj., distinguishing it both from a finite verb in a verbal clause and from a classifying noun or adj. in a nominal clause, both of which come first. § 110, R. 1. Gen. 2. 10 וְנָהָר יֹצֵא *now, a river went forth;* 24. 21 וְהָאִישׁ מִשְׁתָּאֵה לָהּ *and the man gazed at her;* 39. 23 וַאֲשֶׁר־הוּא עֹשֶׂה יְ׳ מַצְלִיחַ and *whatever he did, Y. made it prosper;* Deu. 26. 16 today יְ׳ אֱלֹהֶיךָ מְצַוְּךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת *Y. your God is commanding you* to do. Gen. 33. 13, Ex. 9. 24, Deu. 4. 12, etc. So commonly after הִנֵּה and in rel. clauses, Gen. 24. 13 הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי נִצָּב behold, *I am standing;* 28. 20 in this way אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ which *I am going*. 18. 17; 24. 37; 31. 43, Ex. 14. 25, etc. In a minority of cases the ptcp. comes first, sometimes after אִם, Deu. 5. 22 אִם־יֹסְפִים אֲנַחְנוּ לִשְׁמֹעַ if *we hear anymore* the voice of Y., Jud. 11. 9, 1 S. 7. 3, 2 K. 10. 6; often after כִּי, Gen. 42. 23 they did not know כִּי שֹׁמֵעַ יוֹסֵף that *Jos. was listening;* 1 S. 3. 9 כִּי שֹׁמֵעַ עַבְדֶּךָ for *your servant hears*, Gen. 3. 5; 15. 14; 19. 13, Is. 12. 4. With interr., Gen. 4. 9 הֲשֹׁמֵר אָחִי אָנֹכִי *am I my brother's keeper?;* 18. 17, Nu. 11. 29. The pass. ptcps. בָּרוּךְ and אָרוּר, when used precatively, usually precede the subj. See further Nominal Clauses, § 49*d*.

(*c*) The ptcp. is found in all three time settings, in past and pres. often with the implication of continuous action, in fut. more often describing a punctual action. 1 S. 1. 12 she prayed long וְעֵלִי שֹׁמֵר אֶת־ פִּיהָ *while Eli watched her mouth*. Gen. 4. 10 צֹעֲקִים דְּמֵי אָחִיךָ your brother's blood is crying. 19.13 כִּי מַשְׁחִיתִים אֲנַחְנוּ for *we are going to destroy*. See exx., Rem. 1.

(*d*) The ptcp. clause is negatived by אֵין, revealing its nominal character. The place of the neg. varies, § 52. Gen. 41. 8 אֵין פּוֹתֵר אֹתָם *there was no one to interpret* them; cf. different order, 40. 8; 41. 15. Ex. 5. 16 תֶּבֶן אֵין נִתָּן *straw is not given;* 1 K. 6. 18 אֵין אֶבֶן נִרְאָה *no stone was seen*. The אֵין often takes suff. of subj., Gen. 43. 5 אִם אֵינְךָ מְשַׁלֵּחַ if *you do not send*, Ex. 5. 10 (so commonly יֵשׁ in a positive clause, Gen. 43. 4). — Gen. 20. 7; 39. 23; 41. 24, Ex. 3. 2, Deu. 4. 22; 22. 27, Jos. 6. 1, Jud. 3. 25, 1 S. 3. 1; 22. 8; 26. 12, 1 K. 6. 18, Is. 5. 27; 17. 2; 22. 22, Jer. 9. 21,

Hos. 5. 14, Am. 5. 2, 6. See Rem. 3.

(*e*) When additional clauses are joined by *and* to a participial construction, the appropriate finite verb is usually employed, consec. unless other words are interposed. Gen. 35. 3 לָאֵל הָעֹנֶה אֹתִי וַיְהִי עִמָּדִי the God who answered me, *and was* with me; 27. 33 הַצָּד צַיִד וַיָּבֵא who hunted venison *and brought* it; 7. 4 ... וּמָחִיתִי אָנֹכִי מַמְטִיר עַל־הָאָרֶץ I will send rain upon the earth ... *and will blot out;* Mic. 3. 5 הַמַּתְעִים אֶת־עַמִּי ... וְקָרְאוּ שָׁלוֹם the prophets who mislead my people ... *and cry* "Peace"; *vs.* 9 הַמְתַעֲבִים מִשְׁפָּט וְאֶת כָּל־הַיְשָׁרָה יְעַקֵּשׁוּ who abhor justice *and pervert* all equity. In poetry appos. is common, often with chiasmus, Is. 5. 8 מַגִּיעֵי בַיִת בְּבַיִת שָׂדֶה בְשָׂדֶה יַקְרִיבוּ who join house to house, *lay* field to field; cf. Ps. 147. 14-16. — Gen. 17. 19; 27. 33; 35. 3; 48. 4, Deu. 4. 22, 1 S. 2. 6, 8, 31; 2 S. 20. 12, 1 K. 13. 2, 3, Is. 5. 23; 14. 17; 29. 21; 30. 2; 31. 1; 44. 25, 26; 48. 1, Jer. 13. 10, Hos. 2. 16, Am. 5. 7-12; 8. 14; 9. 5, Ps. 18. 33. This change to the finite is *necessary* when the additional clause is neg., Ps. 15. 2-3.

(*f*) The ptcp. is greatly employed in describing scenes of a striking kind and in circumstantial clauses. Much of the picturesqueness of prose historical writing is due to it. Thus it is used with such particles as הִנֵּה *behold,* עוֹד *still, while.* 1 K. 22. 10 the kings יֹשְׁבִים אִישׁ עַל־כִּסְאוֹ מְלֻבָּשִׁים בְּגָדִים וְכָל־הַנְּבִיאִים מִתְנַבְּאִים *were sitting, each on his throne, clothed in their robes, and all the prophets were prophesying* before them; cf. *vss.* 12, 19. 2 S. 15. 30 David's ascent of Olivet, cf. *vss.* 18, 23. Is. 6. 2, 2 S. 12. 19, 1 S. 9. 11, 14, 27, Is. 5. 28, Nu. 11. 27, 1 K. 12. 6, 2 K. 2. 11. With הִנֵּה, adding colour to a description or intention. Gen. 25. 32; 37. 7; 41. 1-3, 1 S. 10. 22; 12. 2, 2 K. 17. 26, and often in poetry. With עוֹד, Gen. 18. 22, Ex. 9. 2, 17, 1 K. 1. 14, 22, 42, 2 K. 6. 33, Jer. 33. 1, Job 2. 3. So with יֵשׁ and אֵין, Gen. 24. 42, 49; 43. 4, Deu. 29. 14, Jud. 6. 36.

Rem. 1. The *time* of ptcp. Exx. of *present* time: Gen. 16. 8; 19. 15; 32. 12; 37. 16; 43. 18, Deu. 4. 1; 12. 8 and often, Jud. 7. 10; 18. 3, 1 S. 14. 11, Is. 1. 7, Hos. 3. 1. Exx. of *past* time: Gen. 37. 7, 15; 40. 6; 41. 7ff., Ex. 18. 5, 14, Deu. 4. 12, Jud. 4. 22; 14. 4; 19. 27, 1 S. 2. 13; 9. 11, 1 K. 3. 2; 4. 20; 6. 27, 2 K. 13. 21. Exx. of *future* time: Gen. 7. 4; 17. 19; 41. 25, 28; 49. 29, Ex. 33. 15, Jud. 11. 9; 15. 3, 1 S. 20. 36, 2 S. 12. 23, 2 K. 4. 16, Ps. 22. 32; 102. 19. Particularly with הִנֵּה, as Gen. 15. 3; 20. 3; 24. 13, 1 S. 3. 11, 1 K. 13. 2, Is. 3. 7; 7. 14, Am. 8. 11. The ptcp. with הִנֵּה, however, may refer to any time, as pres.: Gen. 38. 24, Jud. 9. 36, 1 S. 10. 22, 1 K. 1. 25; 17. 12, or past: Gen. 40. 6; 41. 1, Am. 7. 1, 4, 7.

Rem. 2. The verb הָיָה is sometimes used with the ptcp., often indicating the state in which a person (or thing) is found, sometimes expressing the idea of continuity, but in other cases a punctual action. The reference is usually to the past, but occasionally to the future. The הָיָה usually precedes the ptcp., coming after the subj., if there is one. Gen. 1. 6 וְיהִי מַבְדִּיל and *let it separate;* 4. 17 וַיְהִי בֹּנֶה עִיר *and he built* a city; 37. 2 יוֹסֵף הָיָה רֹעֶה *Jos. was herding;* 1 S. 2. 11 וְהַנַּעַר הָיָה מְשָׁרֵת אֶת־יְ׳ and *the child ministered* to Y.; Ps. 122. 2 עֹמְדִים הָיוּ רַגְלֵינוּ *our feet have been standing.* Gen. 39. 22, Ex. 3. 1, Deu. 9. 7, 22, 24; 28. 29, Jud. 1. 7, 1 S. 18. 29, 2 S. 3. 6, 17; 7. 6, 2 K. 17. 25-41; 18. 4, Is. 2. 2; 59. 2, Jer. 26. 18, 20, Hos. 9. 17, Job 1. 14. Pass. ptcp., Lev. 13. 45, 1 K. 22. 35, Jer. 14. 16; 36. 30, Zech. 3. 3. The usage is more common in later books, sometimes substituting more or less for a regular verbal form (it becomes a straightforward tense in postbiblical Hebr.). Neh. 1. 4; 2. 13, 15, 1 Chr. 6. 17; 18. 14, 2 Chr. 30. 10; 36. 16, Est. 2. 15, Dan. 1. 16; 5. 19; 10. 9.

Rem. 3. The ptcp. is negatived by לֹא when an attributive. Jer. 2. 2 אֶרֶץ לֹא זְרוּעָה a land *not sown* (cf. adj. Deu. 32. 6, Hos. 13. 13). Jer. 18. 15, Hab. 1. 14 in an attributive clause, Job 29. 12. Cf. 2 S. 1. 21, Hos. 7. 8. But also in a number of cases where *pred.*, Nu. 35. 23, Deu. 19. 4; 28. 61, 2 S. 3. 34, Jer. 4. 22, Ez. 4. 14; 22. 24, Zeph. 3. 5, Ps. 38. 15, Job 12. 3. In Hos. 1. 6 לֹא רֻחָמָה and Is. 54. 11 לֹא נֻחָמָה the forms are QATAL (Pual).

Rem. 4. The ptcp., perhaps because it has weaker force than finite verb, sometimes uses prep. לְ for obj., espec. when obj. precedes. Is. 11. 9 לַיָּם מְכַסִּים waters *covering the sea.* Nu. 10. 25, Deu. 4. 42, Am. 6. 3 (cf. Is. 66. 5), Is. 14. 2.

Rem. 5. The ptcp. without subj. tends to be used occasionally for 3rd pers. like finite verb. Jos. 8. 6, Neh. 6. 6; 9. 3, 5, Is. 13. 5, and in Psalms. So for infin., Jer. 2. 17 עֵת מוֹלְכֵךְ *the time when he led you.* Gen. 38. 29, Mal. 1. 7. Both uses are common in postbiblical Hebr.

Rem. 6. The pass. ptcp. appears in some cases to express a state which is the result of the subject's own action. Is. 26. 3 בָּטוּחַ *trusting,* Ps. 103. 14 זָכוּר *mindful,* Is. 53. 3 יָדוּעַ *acquainted with.* Song 3. 8.

SYNTAX OF THE ADVERB AND ADVERBIAL PHRASES AND CLAUSES

§ 114. Adverbs are optional elements of clause structure. They extend the meaning of (modify) either a verbal clause or the verb itself or either a nominal clause or a single noun or adjective. In the latter cases they should strictly speaking be called adnominals.

Hebr. possesses relatively few individual adverbs compared with Engl. with, e.g. its large open class formed with an adj. and *-ly*. But it has other ways of expressing adverbial function which are not found in Engl., notably by the use of verbs like הוֹסִיף, שׁוּב, etc., with an accompanying infin. constr. or finite verb (§ 96*b*, 97) or through the infin. absol. (§ 102), or which are exceptional in Engl., as by the use of simple nouns or adjectives (§ 117 below). Circumstantial clauses may also function adverbially (§ 137), as more directly may (see §§ 118, 119 below) prepos. phrases, infin. phrases and certain subordinate clauses.

In function, adverbs and other adverbial expression between them negate or affirm an action or situation, locate it in space or time, indicate the manner in which it occurs, the circumstances or causes which give rise to it, the purpose behind it, the result which flows from it, the restrictions which apply to it, and so on.

INDEPENDENT ADVERBS

§ 115. In *form*, independent adverbs are very varied; they may be of unknown derivation, as לֹא *not*, שָׁם *there;* or composed of demonstr. (deictic) elements, as כֹּה *thus, here,* הֵנָּה *hither;* or have the ending ם/ָם, as אָמְנָם *truly*, פִּתְאֹם *suddenly;* or be frozen infinitives absol., as הַרְבֵּה *greatly;* or they may be nouns and adjectives which by their use or frequency are more appropriately classified as adverbs than under § 117 below, as שָׁוְא *falsely*, שֵׁנִית *a second time, again*. A few adverbs also do

duty as conjunctions, as כִּי *indeed* (adv.), *that, because, but* (conj.) or as prepp., as אַחַר *afterwards* (adv.), *after* (prep.). Some adverbs may themselves take prepp.; where they are derived from nouns, the result is formally a prepos. phrase, as כָּעֵת *as of now*, מִבַּיִת *inside*, but where they are not, the result is in effect another adv., as מִשָּׁם *hence*. Combinations of prep. and pron. זֶה, זֹאת may also be considered adverbs, as מִזֶּה *hence*, כָּזֹאת *thus, accordingly*.

§ 116. *Function.* — (*a*) Most individual adverbs modify the verbal predicate and may be broadly divided into adverbs of place, time, degree and manner. See classification in Rem. 1. Some may belong to more than one category, as אַחַר both *behind* of place and *afterwards* of time, or be also clausal adverbs, as כֹּה both *here* of place and *thus* clausally, אָז and עַתָּה both *then, now* of time and clausally in a logical sense. On clausal uses see *b*. Gen. 22. 13 וְהִנֵּה אַיִל אַחַר and behold there was a ram *behind*. 24. 55 אַחַר תֵּלֵךְ *after that* she may go. Ru. 2. 8 וְכֹה תִּדְבָּקִין but keep close *here* to my maidens. Nu. 24. 17 אֶרְאֶנּוּ וְלֹא עַתָּה I shall see him, but not *now*. 1 S. 26. 21 וָאֶשְׁגֶּה הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד I have erred *exceedingly*. Ps. 127. 1 שָׁוְא עָמְלוּ בוֹנָיו בּוֹ those who build it labour *in vain*

(*b*) Adverbs modifying clauses are fewer in number. Interrogatives are properly clausal adverbs (see Questions, § 152), as are אָז and עַתָּה used logically. Pr. 2. 5 (if you seek ...) אָז תָּבִין *then* you will understand. Ps. 119. 22 (*in that case*). Ecc. 2. 15 (*that being so*). עַתָּה is used of reaching a conclusion, Gen. 27. 2-3 see, I am old ... וְעַתָּה שָׂא־נָא כֵלֶיךָ *now, then*, take your weapons, Is. 5. 3, 5, and is common as a macro-syntactic signal in discourse; see further § 72, R. 4. But most clausal adverbs may be broadly divided into *negative* and (see *c* below) affirmative. The negative לֹא is used by and large in objective statements and solemn commands. Gen. 45. 1 וְלֹא יָכֹל יוֹסֵף לְהִתְאַפֵּק and J. *was unable* to restrain himself. 3.1 לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכֹּל עֵץ הַגָּן *you shall eat of no tree* of the garden. The neg. אַל is the subjective neg., used sometimes in commands, oftener in dissuasion, deprecation, expression of a wish, etc. (see Cohort., Jussive). Gen. 19. 7 אַל־נָא אַחַי תָּרֵעוּ my brothers, please *do not do wrong*, cf. *vs.* 8. 1 S. 17. 32, 2 S. 24. 14, Jer. 9. 22, Ps. 51. 13. The usual place of the neg. is before the verb, but it may be placed before the emphatic word in the neg. clause; either way, it properly modifies the whole clause. Gen.

45. 8 לֹא אַתֶּם שְׁלַחְתֶּם אֹתִי *it was not you* that sent me. 32. 29, 1 S. 2. 9; 8. 7, Neh. 6. 12. Both לֹא and אַל are used only with QATAL and YIQTOL forms. On imper. with neg., § 66. The negatives with infin. (לְבִלְתִּי, § 109*a*) and with participial (§ 113*d*) and with nominal clauses in general (both אֵין) function adnominally, as in effect forming a constr. relation, though אֵין (and its affirmative counterpart יֵשׁ) show verbal features. On the usage of אֵין and יֵשׁ, § 52. The neg. טֶרֶם *not yet*, is a temporal, not a clausal, adv., though it is peculiar in that it is usually joined to (long) YIQTOL; see § 62, R. 1. The telic neg. פֶּן *lest*, is a conjunction, § 128.

(*c*) *Affirmative* clausal adverbs are אָבָל *truly* (Gen. 42. 21, 1 K. 1. 43), though in later Hebr. it becomes a strong adversative conjunction, *howbeit, but* (Dan. 10. 7, Ezr. 10. 13). — אַךְ *surely, no doubt* (Gen. 29. 14, Is. 63. 8), otherwise an exclusive or antithetical conjunction, *except, only yet, but* or an adnominal (see *d* below). So אָכֵן (Gen. 28. 16, Is. 40. 7; 53. 4), also used as a conj. — אָמְנָם *truly, indeed* (Job 12. 2, Ru. 3. 12), אֱמֶנָּם *idem.* (only in questions, Gen. 18. 13, 1 K. 8. 27), אָמְנָה *idem.* (Gen. 20. 12). — כִּי is usually a conj., *for, because, that, but* and so in usages like אַף כִּי, lit. *furthermore* (it is a fact) *that*, though often translated *indeed* (Gen. 3. 1 in a question), or in its meaning *so much the more, less* (§ 143*c*), cf. הֲכִי (Job 6. 22), אַךְ כִּי *only* (1 S. 8. 9), לֹא כִי *no but* (Gen. 18. 15, Is. 30. 16). But sometimes it functions adverbially, espec. when it occurs internally, but also otherwise, Gen. 18. 20 the outcry against Sodom כִּי רַבָּה is *surely* great, 1 S. 20. 26, Is. 32. 13, Hos. 6. 9; 8. 6; 9. 12, Am. 3. 7, Ps. 76. 11; 77. 12, Pr. 30. 2, Ecc. 4. 16; 7. 7, 20, Lam. 3. 22. So also when כִּי introduces the apod., Gen. 31. 42; 43. 10, Is. 7. 9. — The clausal adverbs כֹּה and כֵּן *thus* have respectively a forward and a backward reference: כֹּה in Ex. 3. 14 (say *this*) and often with אָמַר, Is. 24. 13; כֵּן in Gen. 1. 7 (and it was *so*), Jud. 5. 31, Jer. 14. 10. כָּכָה *thus* has reference both ways, Ex. 12. 11, Nu. 8. 26. לָכֵן and עַל־כֵּן are best regarded as conjunctions.

אוּלַי *perhaps* may be included here as expressing an emphatic hope or doubt, Gen. 16. 3, Jer. 20. 10; Gen. 24. 5, 39, Job 1. 5. Ironic, Is. 47. 12, Jer. 51. 8.

(*d*) *Adnominal usages.* The commonest Hebr. adnominal, used mostly with adjectives, is מְאֹד *very*, Gen. 1. 31 טוֹב מְאֹד *very good*,

though it is also used with stative verbs, i.e. the verbs most like an adj., 7. 18 *were very strong*, i.e. *prevailed greatly*. With noun, 13. 13 (*great sinners*), with Niph. ptcp., Ps. 46. 2 (a help *greatly* to be found), with infin. constr., Jos. 9. 13 (from *the very long journey*), with another adv., 1 K. 10. 10 (*in very great quantity*). The directional ending ה ָ is adnominal, following the noun, cf. Engl. *-wards*. פְּנִימָה *inside*, sometimes with prep. לְ or מִן, is construed adnominally, following its noun, 1 K. 6. 18, 2 K. 7. 11, Ps. 45. 14. So occasionally other adverbs, as מְעַט in Ez. 11. 16 (a sanctuary *but little*, perhaps *for a little while*). Cf. the adverbial prepos. phrases Deu. 4. 39 (heaven *above*), Ez. 41. 9 (the *outside* wall), Pr. 15. 24 (Sheol *beneath*).

The neg. לֹא forms compounds with nouns, Deu. 32. 21 לֹא אֵל a *no-god*, Is. 10. 15; 31. 8, Am. 6. 13. With adj., Hos. 13. 13 לֹא חָכָם a son *not-wise*, Ps. 43. 1, Pr. 30. 25. So אֵי in Job 22. 30 (the *non-innocent*) and perhaps in 1 S. 4. 21 (*inglorious*), though here אֵי may mean *where?* (cf. Ugar. *ỉy zbl, where is the prince*, i.e. Baal, and the names Ichabod and Jezebel). So the frozen constructs בְּלִי and אֶפֶס: 2 S. 1. 21 בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ *not* anointed, Deu. 32. 36, Is. 5. 8, Job 8. 11.

The inclusive particles גַּם and אַף and the restrictive particles אַךְ and רַק are best treated as conjunctions linking either two nouns (§ 38*a, b*) or two clauses (§§ 143, 144). But when there is no coordination they may serve as emphasizing or limiting adverbs or adnominals. Thus גַּם before infin. absol., § 101*c*, or גַּם or אַף before another adverb (Gen. 18. 13; 20. 12, *truly indeed*) or noun or pron. (Ex. 12. 32 and bless *even* me; 1 S. 22. 7 *indeed* all of you; 1 K. 2. 14 he *himself*); אַךְ and רַק before infin. absol., § 101*a*; before a noun or adj. (Gen. 6. 5 *nothing but* evil; 18. 32 *just this once;* Ex. 8. 5 *only* in the Nile; 12. 15 on the *very first* day; 1 S. 18. 8 *nothing less than* the kingship; Is. 19. 11 *utterly* foolish).

Rem. 1. Independent adverbs other than clausal may be divided as follows (some place and time adverbs may have the directional ה ָ). — *Of place:* אַחַר *behind,* אָחוֹר, אֲחֹרַנִּית *backwards,* הָלְאָה *forward, beyond,* הֲלוֹם *hither,* הֵנָּה *hither,* הַרְחֵק *at a distance,* חוּץ *outside,* כֹּה *here,* מַטָּה *downwards,* מַעַל *above,* מַעְלָה *upwards,* מֵסֵב *around,* סָבִיב *around,* פֹּה *here,* פְּנִימָה *inside,* קֵדְמָה/קִדְמָה *eastwards,* שָׁם *there,* שָׁמָּה *thither.*

Of time: אֲזַי/אָז *then,* אַחֲרֵנָה/אַחַר *afterwards, at the last,* אֶמֶשׁ *last night,* אֶתְמוֹל שִׁלְשׁוֹם *previously* (lit. yesterday and the day before), הָלְאָה *henceforth,* מֵהֵרָה/מָהָר *now,* טֶרֶם *not yet,* כְּבָר *already,* לַיְלָה *by night,* יוֹמָם *daily,* הֵנָּה

tomorrow, עֲדֶנָה/עֶדֶן *previously*, עוֹד *still, again*, עוֹלָם *forever*, עַתָּה *now*, רִאשׁוֹנָה *before, formerly*, רַבַּת *for a long time*, רֶגַע *for a moment*.

Of degree: הַרְבֵּה *very, greatly*, יֶתֶר, יוֹתֵר *to excess, overmuch*, מְאֹד *very*, מְעַט *a little, almost*, רַב, רַבָּה, רַבַּת *much, abundantly*.

Of manner: אַחַת *once*, אַט *gently*, הֵיטֵב *well*, חִנָּם *in vain*, חִישׁ *quickly*, חֶרֶשׁ *secretly*, יַחְדָּו/יַחַד *together*, מַהֵר, מְהֵרָה *quickly*, פִּתְאֹם *suddenly*, פֶּתַע *suddenly*, רֶגַע *in a moment, suddenly*, רֵיקָם *vainly*, שָׁוְא *falsely*, שֵׁנִית *again* (see also multiplicatives, § 48, R. 3), תָּמִיד *continually*.

Adverbs with prepp. (selected exx.; see Lexx.). Before other adverbs: אַחֲרֵי־כֵן *afterwards*, מִשָּׁם *hence*, עַד־הֵנָּה *hither, hitherto*, עַד־מְאֹד *exceedingly*. Before pron.: כָּזֹאת *thus, accordingly*, מִזֶּה *hence*. Before nouns: בַּסֵּתֶר *secretly*, בִּשְׁגָגָה *inadvertantly*, בְּשַׁלְוָה *unawares*, כָּעֵת *now, at the present time*, לָבֶטַח *securely*, לָנֶצַח *forever*, לְעוֹלָם (also עַד־) *forever*, מִבַּיִת *inside*, מִחוּץ *outside*, מִנֶּגֶד *in front, straight away*, מִקֶּדֶם *of old*, מִקָּרוֹב *recently, soon*, מֵרָחוֹק *afar off*.

Rem. 2. Word-order. Clausal adverbs normally come first in a clause. Adverbs (and prep. phrases) modifying the verb usually follow the verb and, if it has one, its object; but if they refer back to some person, thing or place in a previous clause (anaphoric), they generally precede the object; and if they are given special prominence, they may come first in the clause, espec. in poetry. Ps. 16. 8 שִׁוִּיתִי יְ׳ לְנֶגְדִּי תָּמִיד I keep Y. *before me continually*. Gen. 2. 7 וַיִּפַּח בְּאַפָּיו נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים and he breathed *into his nostrils* the breath of life; *vs.* 8 וַיָּשֶׂם שָׁם אֶת־הָאָדָם and he placed *there* the man whom he had formed. Gen. 3. 18 בְּעִצָּבוֹן תֹּאכְלֶנָּה כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ *in pain* you shall eat of it *all the days of your life*. Ps. 127. 1. But usage varies.

NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES AS ADVERBS

§ 117. Nouns and adjectives may be freely used in an adverbial function (adnominal if they modify nominal clauses). They should not be called adverbial "accusatives", § 88, R. 1. — (*a*) In definitions of *place*. Indicating *where*. This use is common with the words בַּיִת *house*, פֶּתַח *door*, and some others, especially following verbs like יָשַׁב *dwell, sit*, etc. Gen. 24. 23 הֲיֵשׁ בֵּית־אָבִיךְ מָקוֹם is there room *in your father's house?* 2 S. 9. 4 הִנֵּה־הוּא בֵּית מָכִיר he is *at the house of* M.; Gen. 18. 1, 10 וְהוּא יֹשֵׁב פֶּתַח־הָאֹהֶל as he sat *at the door of* the tent. Gen. 38. 11; 45. 16. Ex. 33. 10, Jos. 1. 4, 15; 12. 1; 23. 4, 1 K. 19. 13, 2 K. 2. 3, Is. 3. 6, Jer. 36. 10. Gen. 28. 11 *at the place of his head*, 1 S. 26. 7; Ru. 3. 8, 14 *at the place of his feet*. Proper names compounded with בֵּית are similarly construed, 2 S. 2. 32, Hos. 12. 5. Sometimes a prep. is used, cf. Jer. 27. 18 (בְּ) with *vs.* 21.

Indicating *whither, to where.* Gen. 27. 3 צֵא הַשָּׂדֶה go out *to the field;* 45. 25 וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן and they came *to the land of* C.; Ps. 100. 4 בֹּאוּ שְׁעָרָיו go *into his gates.* The ה of direction is frequently appended, Gen. 24. 16 וַתֵּרֶד הָעַיְנָה and she went down *to the fountain;* 12. 5; 39. 1, 12; 42. 38; 43. 17. Prepp. (עַד־, אֶל־, etc.) may of course be used before noun of *place,* but must be used with names of *persons.* The directional ה cannot be appended to the latter. Gen. 45. 25 וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן אֶל־ יַעֲקֹב and they came *to the land of C. to J.,* Jer. 27. 3. The prep. is used also with creatures, Gen. 31. 4 הַשָּׂדֶה אֶל־צֹאנוֹ *to* the field *to* his flock. — Gen. 13. 10; 24. 27, Ex. 4. 9; 17. 10, Jos. 6. 19, 24, Jud. 1. 26; 19. 18, 1 S. 1. 24; 17. 17, 20, 2 S. 20. 3, Is. 14. 11, Jer. 16. 8; 18. 2; Nah. 2. 6. — In Ez. 11. 24; 23. 16 כַּשְׂדִּים is the name of the country, Jer. 50. 10; 51. 24, 25.

Indicating *how far.* 1 K. 19. 4 and he went into the desert דֶּרֶךְ יוֹם a day's journey, Gen. 7. 20, Ez. 41. 22, Jon. 3. 4.

(*b*) In definitions of *time.* Indicating *when.* Hos. 7. 5 יוֹם מַלְכֵּנוּ *on the day* of our king; 2 S. 21. 9 תְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׂעֹרִים *at the beginning* of barley harvest; Ps. 127. 2 יִתֵּן לִידִידוֹ שֵׁנָא he gives to his beloved *in sleep.* Gen. 14. 15; 27. 45; 40. 7, Hos. 1. 2; 7. 6; Ps. 91. 6 (*at noon;* elsewhere with prep. בְּ); Ps. 119. 62 חֲצוֹת לַיְלָה *at midnight;* Ps. 5. 4; 6. 11. Indicating *how long,* Gen. 3. 14 כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ *all the days of* your life; Hos. 3. 4 יָמִים רַבִּים יֵשְׁבוּ *many days* shall they abide. Gen. 7. 4, 24; 14. 4; 15. 13; 21. 34; 27. 44.

(*c*) In definitions of *manner* (how). Zeph. 1. 14 מַר צוֹרֵחַ גִּבּוֹר *bitterly* cries the mighty man; Ez. 27. 30 וְיִזְעֲקוּ מָרָה they shall cry *bitterly;* 1 S. 12. 11 וַתֵּשְׁבוּ בֶּטַח and you dwelt *in confidence;* Hos. 14. 5 אֹהֲבֵם נְדָבָה I will love them *freely,* 1 S. 15. 32 וַיֵּלֶךְ אֵלָיו אֲגָג מַעֲדַנּוֹת and Agag came to him *cheerfully;* Zeph. 3. 9 לְעָבְדוֹ שְׁכֶם אֶחָד to serve him *with one accord* (lit. shoulder). Rem. 3.

(*d*) In definitions of *material* (with what?). Gen. 2. 7 וַיִּיצֶר אֶת־ הָאָדָם עָפָר he made man *out of dust.* Deu. 27. 6 אַבְנִים שְׁלֵמוֹת *of whole stones* you shall build the altar. Gen. 27. 9 (suff.), Ex. 20. 25, 25. 18, 28; 38. 3, Deu. 27. 6, 1 K. 7. 15, 27, Song 3. 10. Of *instrument, means,* etc. Is. 5. 2 וַיִּטָּעֵהוּ שֹׂרֵק he planted it *with choice vines,* Jud. 9. 45. Ps. 45. 8 God has anointed you שֶׁמֶן שָׂשׂוֹן *with the oil of gladness;* Mic. 7. 2 hunts his brother *with a net;* Mal. 3. 24 smite the earth *with a curse;* Ps. 64. 8 shoot at them *with arrows.* 2 K. 19. 32, Ps. 88. 8, Pr. 13. 24. Jos. 7. 25 וַיִּרְגְּמוּ

אֹתוֹ אֶבֶן they stoned him *with stones*, Lev. 24. 23, 2 Chr. 24. 21; also with בְּ of instrum., and so סָקַל *stone* always, Jos. 7. 25, Deu. 13. 11, 1 K. 21. 13.

(*e*) In *specifying* definitions. When to the general statement of the action there is added the point of its incidence, or the respect in which it holds, this secondary limitation is expressed by nouns used adverbially. Gen. 3. 15 הוּא יְשׁוּפְךָ רֹאשׁ he shall bruise you *on the head;* 37. 21 לֹא נַכֶּנּוּ נָפֶשׁ let us not smite him *as to life* (mortally); 1 K. 15. 23 חָלָה אֶת־רַגְלָיו he was diseased *in his feet.* Gen. 17. 25; 41. 40, Ex. 16. 16, Deu. 19. 6, 11; 33. 11, Jud. 15. 8, 2 S. 21. 20, Jer. 2. 16, 28, Ps. 3. 8; 17. 11, Job 21. 7.

Rem. 1. The force of the ה of direction has in many cases become enfeebled; thus שָׁמָּה *there*, Jer. 18. 2, and following בְּ or מִן, Jos. 15. 21, Jer. 27. 16. It sometimes seems little more than an ornate ending, Hos. 8. 7; 10. 13, Ps. 3. 3; 116. 14, 15, 18; 124. 4; 125. 3.

Rem. 2. Adjectives indicating the *manner* of an action may be mas. or fem. (Is. 5. 26), sing. or plur., esp. fem. plur. (Ps. 139. 14, Job 37. 5). If a noun: (1) in principal any noun may be used, Mic. 2. 3 רוֹמָה, Ps. 56. 3 מָרוֹם *haughtily*, Is. 60. 14 שְׁחוֹחֵי *bowing down*, Pr. 31. 9 צֶדֶק *in righteousness*, Jud. 5. 21 עֹז *in power;* Lev. 19. 16, Nu. 32. 14, Is. 57. 2. (2) The noun may be plur., Lam. 1. 9 פְּלָאִים she came down *wonderfully*, Hos. 12. 15 תַּמְרוּרִים *bitterly*, Ps. 58. 2; 75. 3. (3) a nominal phrase may be used, Jos. 9. 2, 1 K. 22. 13 פֶּה אֶחָד *unanimously;* Lev. 26. 21, 23, 24, Pr. 7. 10. 2 S. 23. 3 ruling יִרְאַת אֱ' *in the fear of* God. This usage of the noun is mostly poetical, prose rather employing a prep., Lam. 1. 5 שְׁבִי *into captivity*, elsewhere בַּשְּׁבִי; Ps. 119. 78, 86 שֶׁקֶר *falsely, in vain,* usually לַשֶּׁקֶר, 1 S. 25. 21. Jer. 23. 28, Ps. 73. 13; 119. 75, Job 21. 34. Comp. Is. 30. 7 with 49. 4; 65. 23; Ps. 119. 75 אֱמוּנָה with 2 K. 12. 16.

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

§ 118. Prepos. phrases function adverbially in verbal clauses and adnominally in nominal clauses and phrases.

(*a*) *Form.* Some prepp. like some adverbs fall outside the root system, consisting of a single consonant (בְּ, כְּ, לְ) or of two (מִן); like the monocons. prepp. מִן is usually attached directly to its noun, though it sometimes takes Maqqeph, as usually do the fuller forms בְּמוֹ, כְּמוֹ, לְמוֹ, almost exclusively poetical. The prepp. אֶל, עַד, עַל are derived from triconsonantal roots, the final root letter appearing in the poet. forms אֶלֵי, etc., and before suffixes, עָלֶיךָ, etc. The shortened forms are usually

attached to their noun via Maqqeph. Other prepp. are in effect nouns in the construct state, as אַחֲרֵי, בֵּין, תַּחַת. Combinations of two simple prepp., as מֵאֵת, or of a simple prep. with a constr. noun, as לִפְנֵי, are common, rather less so more complicated combinations, as לְמִתַּחַת לְ (1 K. 7. 32). Rem. 3.

(*b*) *Usage.* The prep. defines the kind of relationship which the phrase of which it is part has with the verb, Ex. 6. 10 Y. spoke אֶל־מֹשֶׁה *to Moses;* or with the wider context, Is. 5. 25 בְּכָל־זֹאת *for all this* his anger is not turned away; or with the subj. of nominal clause, Ps. 36. 6 your faithfulness (is, reaches) עַד־שְׁחָקִים *to the clouds;* or with a noun or adj. (ptcp.), Pr. 21. 14 מַתָּן בַּסֵּתֶר a gift *in secret;* Ps. 113. 4 רָם עַל־כָּל־ גּוֹיִם high *above all nations.* In most (but not all) cases the basic relationship seems to be spatial or directional, this being extended metaphorically to take in temporal and a variety of other relationships (agency, instrumentality, advantage or disadvantage, reason, etc.), Rem. 1. In the case of the three monoconsonantal prepp. the primary relationship seems to be more general, and the local uses as well as other kinds to be secondary, Rem. 2. As relational terms prepp. are, more than most grammatical entities, dependent for their precise meaning on the context in which they occur, especially on the kind of noun which they govern and the kind of verb with which they are used. The perspective of the speaker may also be relevant, Rem. 4.

Prepp. can differ widely in their usage as between Hebr. and Engl. Some uses are similar in both languages, notably the overlap between locative לְ go *to* and possessive לְ belong *to,* or between agentive and instrumental בְּ *by, with* or both of these and comitative בְּ (*along*) *with.* In other features, however, Hebr. usage is markedly different from Engl., employing the same prep. where Engl. would employ several. Thus Hebr. makes no distinction between בְּ of presence *in,* e.g., a house and בְּ of presence *at,* e.g., a place, or between אֶל of presence *at, near* and אֶל of direction *to, towards,* or between the static usages of בְּ *in, at,* אֶל *at, near,* עַל *over* and the dynamic (involving motion) usages of בְּ *into,* אֶל *towards,* עַל *upon.* It is the verb and sometimes the kind of noun governed which in effect decide these distinctions. Unlike Engl. but like the Latin dative לְ carries the double sense of, e.g., give *to* and act *for.* Some prepp. also express, depending on the context, both the ideas of

advantage *for* and disadvantage *against*.

The static-dynamic relationship is sometimes clarified if a more appropriate verb than the one used is understood (*pregnant* construction). 1 S. 7. 8 אַל־תַּחֲרַשׁ מִמֶּנּוּ *be not silent* (turning away) *from us*. Ps. 22. 22 מִקַּרְנֵי רֵמִים עֲנִיתָנִי *heard* (and delivered) *me from* the horns of wild oxen. Gen. 19. 27 וַיַּשְׁכֵּם ... אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם *he rose early* (and went) *to* the place, Song 7. 13. Gen. 42. 28 וַיֶּחֶרְדוּ אִישׁ אֶל־אָחִיו *they trembled* (and looked) *towards* one another; and often with verbs of *fearing, wondering,* etc:, Gen. 43. 33, Is. 13. 8, Hos. 3. 5, Mic. 7. 17. So the brief language, 1 S. 15. 23 rejected you מִמֶּלֶךְ *from* (being) *king*, cf. *vs.* 26 מִהְיוֹת מ׳, 1 K. 15. 13. Ps. 55. 19 פָּדָה בְשָׁלוֹם *has redeemed* (so as to be) *in peace*.

(*c*) *Phrasal verbs*. A number of trans. verbs govern a dir. obj. via a prep., and may be compared with so-called Engl. phrasal verbs like *turn in, sum up*, etc. The prep. does not function adverbially within the clause, modifying the verb in terms of place, time, manner, etc., but rather adverbially within the verbal phrase itself, telling us something about the mode of action. See for exx., § 89*e*. These verbs should be distinguished from verbs, trans. or intrans., with which, however often attached to it, a prep. functions normally, *e.g.*, הֶאֱמִין בְּ *believe in*, נִלְחַם אֵת/בְּ fight *with*, עַל both *for* and *against*, רָצָה עִם/בְּ *be pleased with*.

Rem. 1. The following prepp. are primarily of place or direction and secondarily applied to other relationships:

The prepp. אַחַר and אַחֲרֵי are *behind* of location (Ex. 11. 5), *after* with a verb of motion (Gen. 44. 4), often in a figurative sense implying a way of behaviour (Deu. 8. 19, 2 K. 13. 2); of time, *after* (Gen. 15. 1; 35. 12).

The prep. אֶל (־אֶל) is occasionally locational, *at, near* (1 K. 13. 20), but more often directional, *towards*, whether the goal be reached or not (Gen. 2. 19; 3. 19; 6. 18 *into* the ark). After verbs of speaking, *to* (especially דִּבֶּר אֶל־) but also in the sense of *with reference to, of* (Gen. 20. 2, Ps. 2. 7), cf. לְ. After other verbs with nuance of advantage (*on behalf of, for*, 1 S. 1. 27; *over*, 15. 35; 1 K. 19. 3 (fled) *for* his life), or disadvantage (*against*, Gen. 4. 8, Is. 2. 4). In the sense of *in addition to, over and above* (Lev. 18. 18, 1 K. 10. 7). In the last two senses אֶל overlaps with עַל, and there is some evidence of interchange (2 S. 2. 9 has three exx. of אֶל and three of עַל following the same verb) and, less commonly, of one being used for the other in a sense where they do not usually overlap, e.g. 1 S. 1. 10 pray *to* God with עַל, *vs.* 26 אֶל.

The confusion should not be exaggerated.

The prep. אֵצֶל is always spatial, *beside* (Gen. 41. 3).

The prepp. אֵת (אֶת־, suff. אִתּוֹ, sometimes אוֹתְךָ as if from אֵת of the object) and עִם are hardly distinguishable. They may be used of being *near* a place (Jud. 4. 11, Gen. 25. 11), but are much commoner in a comitative sense, *with* persons (Gen. 6. 18; 13. 1), *along with* things (Gen. 6. 13, Deu. 12. 23). עִם is occasionally used of time, Ps. 72. 5 *as long as* the sun. Both occur frequently with verbs of personal intercourse, עָשָׂה אֶת/עִם *do*, e.g. kindness, *with*, i.e. *deal kindly with*, הֵיטִיב עִם, רָצָה עִם; Mic. 6. 8; also quarrel, fight *with* (Is. 45. 9, Gen. 32. 29). Adnominally, blameless *before* (Deu. 18. 13), at peace *with* (2 S. 21. 4). In comparisons, *like* (Job 9. 26, Ecc. 2. 16), *besides, except* (Ex. 20. 20, Deu. 32. 39). With senses like *in the possession, care, knowledge* of, 1 S. 9. 7, Is. 49. 4, Pr. 2. 1; 11. 2; Gen. 24. 25, 1 S. 9. 23, Ps. 130. 7. With words like *heart*, denoting the locus of feelings and emotions, 2 K. 10. 15; Deu. 8. 5, 1 K. 8. 17, Ecc. 1. 16. In Gen. 4. 1 אֵת is usually rendered *with the help of*, but in the context *as well as* may fit better.

The prep. בֵּין (also בֵּינוֹת and, only with suff., בֵּינֵי) is *between* (Ex. 13. 9) and more generally *among* (Song 2. 2). If two places or people or things are involved, the prep. is repeated before each (Gen. 13. 3), or לְ ... בֵּין is used (Gen. 1. 6). Metaphorically of judging, knowing (difference), adnominally of a covenant, *between*, etc., Gen. 9. 12; 16. 5; 31. 49, Jos. 22. 27, 2 S. 19. 36, Is. 2. 4.

The prep. בַּעַד is basically *behind* (Gen. 7. 16) or more loosely, *around* (Job 1. 10) or *through* (with the back towards) (Jos. 2. 15, Jud. 5. 28). Metaphorically, *on behalf of* (Gen. 20. 7, Ex. 8. 24)

The prep. מוּל is spatial, *in front of*, Deu. 1. 1.

The prep. מִן expresses separation, including the direction in which someone or something is placed or situated, Gen. 12. 8 *on* the west, east, but more commonly the place of origin, *from* (1 S. 1. 1). *Away from*, Gen. 27. 39. With verbs of motion, deliverance, ceasing, etc. it expresses movement *away from*, Ex. 19. 14, 1 S. 2. 8, Ex. 14. 12. In pregnant construction, Ps. 43. 1 judge (and save) *from*. In causative sense, *because of*, Gen. 48. 10 *from* old age, Is. 6. 4 *at* the voice; 53. 5 *because of* our transgressions. With verbs of fearing, Ps. 27. 1 be afraid *of*. With verbs of removing, speaking, looking, etc., *out of*, Ex. 2. 10, Song 2. 9. Pregnantly, Mic. 7. 17 *tremble* (come trembling) *out of*. Adnominally, Job 4. 13 thoughts (arising) *out of*. Often of time, *since*, marking the *terminus a quo* (1 S. 7. 2) or *after* a previous period (Jos. 23. 1). Sometimes *on, at*, referring to a future time, Gen. 19. 34 *on* the morrow; or a past time, Jos. 24. 2 *of* old. Idiomatically, מִיָּמֶיךָ *since* you were born, *all your days* (1 S. 25. 28, Job 38. 12). Other uses are *partitive*, Gen. 7. 8 two by two *from, of*, with number omitted, *some of*, Gen. 30. 14, *not ... any of*, Deu. 16. 4; *comparative*, Jud. 14. 18 sweeter *than*, Ex. 12. 4 *too* small *for*, Hos. 6. 6

rather than; privative, Job 11. 15 *without* spot. On the use of מִן to negate an infin. (*so as not to*), § 109, R. 1 and, less commonly than לְ, to express the agent of the passive, § 95*c*.

The prep. עַד *as far as, up to*, more often includes the limit than אֶל, which is rather *towards*. Gen. 11. 31 *to* Haran, Hos. 14. 2 return *to* Y. Common in the phrase (וְ)עַד ... מִן, Gen. 10. 19; inclusively, Gen. 19. 4 *both* young *and* old. עַד is not, like אֶל, used of location but it is, unlike אֶל, used of time, *until* (Gen. 19. 37), espec. with infin., both in past (Gen. 8. 7) and future (3. 19) contexts. With the nuance of *against* (a time), Gen. 43. 25 *against* (for) Joseph's coming. *While, as long as*, 2 K. 9. 22.

The prep. עַל is *above, over, upon*, whether of rest or motion, Gen. 2. 5; 24. 30, 2 K. 4. 34. And in figurative senses, Gen. 16. 5 my wrong be *upon you;* 41. 33 set him *over* the land, Jud. 3. 10, 1 S. 15. 17. With verbs like *stand, sit*, it can mean *beside, by*, Gen. 18. 2, 2 S. 9. 10, Is. 6. 2, Ps. 1. 3. Other senses: to express addition, Gen. 31. 50 *besides* my daughters; 32. 12 *along with*, Am. 3. 5. Or obligation, 2 S. 18. 11 *incumbent upon*, Jud. 19. 20, Pr. 7. 14. Or advantage, Gen. 19. 17 *for* your life, Jud. 9. 17 fight *for*, 1 K. 2. 18 *on your behalf;* or disadvantage, Deu. 20. 10 fight *against*, Gen. 34. 25, Ex. 15. 24. In the expression of one's own feelings, Jer. 8. 18 sick *upon me*, Ps. 42. 6, 7 *within* me; 143. 4, Job 10. 1. Sometimes the prep. is almost untranslatable, Gen. 48. 7 Rachel died עָלַי *to my sorrow*. In a logical sense עַל is used to express the condition, circumstances in which an action is performed, on which it rests or which underlie it. Engl. has to translate variously, *amidst, although, notwithstanding, according to, concerning*, etc. Jer. 8. 18 *in, amidst* trouble, Job 10. 7 *although* you know, Is. 53. 9 *in spite of the fact that*, Gen. 41. 15 *concerning* you. Ex. 12. 8, Is. 1. 1; 38. 15; 60. 7 *with acceptance*, Jer. 6. 14, Ps. 50. 5. On עַל with phrasal verbs see § 89*e*.

For עִם see אֵת

The prep. תַּחַת is *under, below* (Gen. 7. 9, Nu. 5. 19, Jud. 3. 20); idiomatically, 1 S. 14. 9 תַּחְתֵּינוּ (note plur. form, as usually before suff.) *where we stand* (under us), *on the spot*, Jos. 5. 8; 6. 5. In the sense *instead* (Gen. 4. 25) or *in return, exchange for* (Gen. 44. 4, Ex. 21. 23); תַּ֜חַת אֲשֶׁר *because* (Deu. 21. 14), conj.

Rem. 2. The three monoconson. prepp. בְּ, כְּ, לְ seem non-locational in their primary meanings. This is certainly true of כְּ, and is the most satisfactory way to account for the wide spread of meanings of בְּ and לְ. The only other simple prep. which does not build on a locational origin is יַעַן *because of*, usually with infin. (1 K. 21. 20), rare with a noun (Ez. 5. 9).

The prep. בְּ is *in, within*, e.g. a city (Gen. 18. 24), a field (30. 14), gates (Ex. 20. 10), as well as *at, on*, e.g. a spring (1 S. 29. 1), a mountain (Ex. 24. 18), an altar (Nu. 23. 2). *Among* people (2 S. 15. 31), sometimes implying pre-eminence, Song 1. 8 fair(est) *among* women. With verb of motion, *into* the

shelter of (Gen. 19. 8), *through* a land (12. 6). Figuratively of a state or condition, *in* peace (Gen. 15. 15), *in* distress (Ps. 91. 15). Of time only *on, at* a particular time (Gen. 1. 1; 2. 2); with infin., *when*. Connected with the meaning *in* is the so-called *Beth essentiae, in the capacity of, as*, Ex. 6. 3 I appeared *as* El Shaddai; 18. 4 (was) *my help*, Nu. 26. 53 *as* an inheritance, Ps. 68. 5 his name is *Yah*. Similarly בְּ with certain verbs, as הֶאֱמִין בְּ believe *in*. It is difficult, however, to see how its common meanings *by, with, through* (of instrument, agent or means) or *with* (of accompaniment) or *for* of exchange (*Beth pretii*) can derive from any sense of *in*. Gen. 9. 6 *by* men, Ex. 5. 2 *with* many men, Jer. 11. 19 *with* its fruit, Job 40. 29 play *with*. 2 S. 24. 4 buy *for*, Deu. 21. 14 sell *for*, Ex. 34. 20 redeem *with*, 2 S. 23. 17 *at peril of* their lives, Deu. 19. 21 life *for* life. Likewise its meanings *because of, on account of* (Gen. 18. 28, 2 S. 3. 27) and *although, in spite of* (Nu. 14. 11, Is. 5. 25). Some broader idea is required to encompass these meanings along with the locational, e.g. inclusive or (Jenni) unifying.

The prep. כְּ expresses similarity or comparison. Gen. 1. 26 *according to* our likeness; 3. 5 *as* gods, Is. 61. 10, Ps. 19. 6; כְּ ... כְּ, Ps. 139. 12 (*as*) darkness is *as* light, Lev. 24. 16. With infin., Jud. 14. 6 *like* the rending of a kid, and very commonly *when*, cf. בְּ. Often כְּ is used in a quasi-nominal way, cf. Engl. *the like(s) of*, Deu. 4. 32 *the like of* this great thing, Ru. 1. 4 *about* ten years. It is also commonly used in a pregnant sense, Ps. 95. 8 כִּמְרִיבָה as *at* M.; 83. 10 do to them as *to* M., Gen. 34. 31, Hos. 2. 5.

The prep. לְ combines the meanings of Engl. *at, near* (Gen. 4. 7) and *to*, the latter sometimes in the sense of אֶל, expressing direction, לְאָחוֹר *backwards* or, with verbs of motion, *towards* (Gen. 30. 25), but predominantly in non-local senses; thus give *to* (as alternative to the indirect obj.), make *into*, appoint *as* (as alternative to the obj. complement), belong *to* (of possession), be good *to*, (too) much *for*, etc. It is used both of advantage (*for*) and disadvantage (*against*). Gen. 19. 8 do *to, with*, Ps. 16. 10 abandon *to* Sheol. Gen. 2. 22 built the rib *into* a woman, *vs.* 7 (הָיְתָה לְ) *became*. Gen. 31. 16 it is *mine*, Is. 2. 12 Y. *has* a day. Is. 6. 8 who will go *for* us?, Ps. 137. 7 *against* the Edomites, Jud. 16. 2 lie in wait *for*. 2 S. 1. 26 be pleasant *to*, Hos. 2. 9 better *for*. Of time: Gen. 8. 11 *at* evening, Ex. 34. 2 *by* morning, Deu. 16. 4 *until* morning, Deu. 7. 9 *for* a thousand generations. In the so-called *Dativus ethicus* the action is reflected back upon the agent, Gen. 12. 1 get *you;* 22. 5 sit *you* here, Am. 7. 12, Ps. 120. 6. But in a large number of cases לְ seems to mean simply *in relation to, with reference to, concerning*. Gen. 20. 13 say *of* me, Ps. 3. 3, Lev. 19. 27 *on account of* the dead person, Deu. 12. 30 enquire *about*, Gen. 41. 19 *for* badness, Deu. 1. 10 *for* multitude, Lev. 5. 4 be guilty *in, as regards*, Jos. 9. 24 fear *for* our lives, Gen. 42. 25 provisions *for* the way; 1. 11 *according to* its kind; 17. 20 *as for* Ishmael. And this broad relational sense may be original. Jenni suggests diversifying over against unifying for בְּ. This

sense is elastic enough to take in the local and non-local and the temporal meanings above as well as several prepos. uses already noted, e.g. to express the agent of the passive, Engl. *by* (§ 95*c*) or, with the infin., to express purpose or result, or the gerundial sense *in eating*, or the meanings *about to* and *must be, ought to be* (§ 108). (לְ also has usages which are best regarded as non-prepos., as normally before the infin., and as when it equates with the "object" marker אֵת, §§ 105*c*, 94, R. 8).

Rem. 3. Compound prepositions. The first element is usually אֶל (occasionally עַד) or מִן, adding a nuance of either direction towards or separation from the second element, אֶל־מִחוּץ, אֶל־מוּל, אֶל־בֵּין, אֶל־אַחֲרֵי, אֶל־תַּחַת; אֶל־מֵאַחֲרֵי, מֵאֵת, מֵעַל, מֵעִם, מִפְּנֵי; מִלִּפְנֵי; עַד־מְאֹד. Prep. ל *in reference to* adds little to the meaning, עַד לְ, מֵעַל לְ, לִפְנֵי. See Lexx.

Rem. 4. The perspective of the speaker is a feature of the use of some prepp., particularly where location is involved; thus the meaning *into* for בְּ, of *to* for לְ or of *onto* for עַל may be seen as indicating location *after* movement, Ru. 2. 18 she entered *into* (= went and ended up *in*) the city, Gen. 30. 25 that I may go *to* (and end up *at*) my own land, 2 K. 4. 34 he lay down *upon* the child. In a small number of cases these three prepp. have the meaning *from*, the perspective being *before* movement, Ps. 18. 9 smoke went up בְּאַפּוֹ *from* his nostrils; 68. 21 to Y. belongs escape לְמָוֶת *from* (when *near*) death, Job 30. 2 עָלֵימוֹ *from* them vigour is gone. Ps. 4. 7 (Dahood); 40. 11; 84. 12, Pr. 9. 5, Job 5. 21. Cf. French, ils mangent *sur* la table, they ate *from* the table. It is significant not only that these three prepp. are frequently used in this manner in Ugar. (see Pardee), but that Ugar. (like Phoen.) does not possess מִן. The Hebr. exx. are, therefore, not surprisingly rare and found only in poetry; they may be regarded as archaisms surviving from a period when מִן was missing also from Hebr. Neither in Ugar. nor in Hebr. should these usages be taken to indicate ambiguity or interchangeability within the prepos. system.

Adverbial Clauses and Infinitive Phrases

§ 119. Adverbial clauses are subordinated to a main clause, modifying it or the verb in it in much the same way as an adverb or prep. phrase. The main clause (apodosis) and the subordinate clause (protasis) together form what is traditionally called a *complex* sentence (§ 131), but it is the adverbial function of the subordinate clause which is significant syntactically. Other subordinate clauses function nominally, taking the place of a noun (see subj. and obj. clauses, §§ 51, 90) or adnominally, qualifying a noun (see relative clauses, §§ 9ff.). Clauses of place are

usually adnominal (in, to the place שָׁם ... אֲשֶׁר *where*). Temporal clauses may be adnominal (on the day *when*), but are often adverbial. Other common types of adverbial clause are conditional, causal, final or purpose, result, etc. Each has its appropriate conjuction(s), but some conjunctions, notably אֲשֶׁר, כִּי (§ 125, R. 2), are found with several types, including nominal or adnominal. The verbs in adverbial clauses have their normal values, stative or quasi-stative or active or (in the case of YIQTOL only) modal. QATAL may, however, attract modal nuances from its context, § 60.

The place of adverbial clauses is commonly taken by phrases with a prep. and infin., § 107. When they precede the main clause, adverbial clauses and infin. phrases are often linked to the larger context by וַיְהִי or וְהָיָה and to the main clause by *Vav apodosi* with the appropriate consec. form. See further §§ 71, 72, 79, 80.

Conditional Clauses

§ 120. These are the most complicated of adverbial clause constructions, frequently employing modalities which spill over into the accompanying main clause. The clause expressing the condition (protasis) is subordinated to the main clause (apodosis) which indicates the result dependent upon it. Either or both clauses may be verbal or nominal. The apodosis, in particular, may assume many forms. *Real* conditions are those which have already been fulfilled or which are judged capable, even hypothetically, of being fulfilled in the pres. or future. These are introduced by אִם or כִּי, less commonly by אֲשֶׁר or הֵן; negative, אִם לֹא or אִם אֵין. Depending on the context, Engl. may prefer to render by *when* (of time) or *although* (of concession) rather than the strictly conditional *if*. *Unreal* (irreal) conditions are those where stress is laid on the fact that they have *not* been fulfilled in the past or on the impossibility (or at least unlikelihood) of their being fulfilled in the pres. or future. These are introduced by לוּ, neg. לוּלֵי.

§ 121. (*a*) In *real* conditions capable of being fulfilled in the future, the most common form is YIQTOL in prot. and *Vav* consec. QATAL or simply YIQTOL in apod., the YIQTOL having indicative or other modal value (§ 64). YIQTOL may be a straight replacement of VeQATAL in apod., coming first, but more often it resists that position,

§ 71. Jud. 4. 8 אִם תֵּלְכִי עִמִּי וְהָלַכְתִּי וְאִם־לֹא תֵלְכִי לֹא אֵלֵךְ *if you go* with me *I will go*, but *if you do not go* (with me) *I will not go*. 2 K. 4. 29 כִּי תִמְצָא־אִישׁ לֹא תְבָרְכֶנּוּ *if you meet* anyone, *you shall not salute* him. Gen. 18. 28 לֹא אַשְׁחִית אִם־אֶמְצָא *I will not destroy if I find*. 13. 16 אִם יוּכַל אִישׁ לִמְנוֹת ... גַּם זַרְעֲךָ יִמָּנֶה *if one could count* the dust of the earth, your seed *also might be counted*. Am. 9. 2 אִם יַחְתְּרוּ בִשְׁאוֹל מִשָּׁם יָדִי תִקָּחֵם *though they dig* into Sheol, from there my hand *will take them*. Preceded by וְהָיָה, Ex. 4. 9 וְהָיָה אִם־לֹא יַאֲמִינוּ ... וְלָקַחְתָּ and it will be that *if they do not believe ... you shall take*. Deu. 11. 14; 20. 11. A ptcp. may take the place of YIQTOL, Gen. 43. 4, 5 אִם־יֶשְׁךָ מְשַׁלֵּחַ אָחִינוּ אִתָּנוּ וְנֵרְדָה וְאִם־ אֵינְךָ מְשַׁלֵּחַ לֹא נֵרֵד *if you will let* our brother *go we will go down, but if you will not let him go we will not go down*. 24. 42; 34. 15-17, Ex. 8. 17, Jud. 6. 36, 1 S. 19. 11. So without יֵשׁ Deu. 5. 22, Jud. 9. 15; 11. 9, 1 S. 6. 3; 7. 3, 1 K. 21. 6, 2 K. 10. 6. But the prot. may be a purely nominal clause, and the apod. may take almost any form, 1 K. 18. 21 אִם יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים לְכוּ אַחֲרָיו אִם מָאֵן אַתָּה הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי *if Y. be God, follow him;* Ex. 7. 27 אִם מְאֵן אַתָּה הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי נֹגֵף *if you refuse*, behold, *I will strike*. Gen. 42. 19; 44. 26, Ex. 1. 16; 21. 3, Jos. 17. 15, Jud. 6. 31, 2 K. 1. 10; 10. 6, Mal. 1. 6.

(*b*) In real conditions QATAL may be used in prot. instead of YIQTOL, denoting a state or an action so regarded which is set in fut. time (§ 59*b*). Jud. 16. 17 אִם גֻּלַּחְתִּי וְסָר כֹּחִי *if I be shaved* my strength *will depart;* 2 S. 15. 33 אִם עָבַרְתָּ אִתִּי וְהָיִתָ עָלַי לְמַשָּׂא *if you go on* with me *you shall be* a burden to me. Deu. 32. 41, 2 K. 7. 4, Is. 4. 4; 16. 12, Mic. 5. 7, Jer. 14. 18; 23. 22; 37. 10; 49. 9, Obad. 5, Job 7. 4; 10. 14; 11. 13; 21. 6, Ru. 1. 12. Comparison of cases like Gen. 43. 9 and 42. 37 or Lev. 13. 53 and 56 show that there is no difference between QATAL and YIQTOL except in aspectual nuance, which Engl. cannot express. Cf. Job 31 throughout. This QATAL may also appear in apod., 1 S. 2. 16 וְאִם לֹא לָקַחְתִּי and if not *I will take it*. Nu. 32. 23, Jud. 15. 7, Ps. 127. 1, Job 20. 14.

In other cases QATAL in prot. refers back to something that has already happened, and has the value of Engl. perfect with *have* or Engl. future perf. (§ 59*a*), indicating a pres. or fut. state arising from a previous action. 1 S. 26. 19 אִם יְ׳ הֱסִיתְךָ יָרַח מִנְחָה *if Y. has incited you, let him accept* (smell) an offering; Jud. 9. 19 אִם בֶּאֱמֶת עֲשִׂיתֶם שִׂמְחוּ *if you have dealt* justly, *rejoice*. Ex. 22. 1, 2 אִם יִמָּצֵא הַגַּנָּב ... אִם זָרְחָה הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ if a

thief be found ... (but) *if the sun has risen*, etc.; cf. Deu. 17. 2, 3 with *Vav* consec. YIQTOL כִּי יִמָּצֵא אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה ... וַיֵּלֶךְ *if a man be found who does* evil ... *and he has gone* and served (having gone). With Ex. 22. 2 cf. 21. 36 (אוֹ). Lev. 4. 23; 5. 1, Nu. 5. 19, 20, 27; 15. 24; 22. 20, Deu. 22. 20, 21, 1 S. 21. 5, Is. 28. 25, Am. 3. 3, 4; 7. 2, Ps. 41. 7; 44. 21; 50. 18, Job 8. 4; 9. 15, 16; 31. 5, 9, 21, 24, 33; 34. 32.

In narrative contexts following וְהָיָה *and it used to happen* אִם with QATAL is usual, though peculiar. Gen. 38. 9 וְהָיָה אִם בָּא אֶל־אֵשֶׁת אָחִיו וְשִׁחֵת אַרְצָה *so whenever he went* into his brother's wife, *he would spoil* (the act by spilling his seed) on the ground. The וְהָיָה and the *Vav* consec. QATAL sufficiently mark the context as frequentative. Nu. 21. 9, Jud. 2. 18; 6. 3. When there is no וְהָיָה the more appropriate YIQTOL is used in prot. Gen. 31. 8, Ex. 40. 37.

(*c*) The prot. in *a, b* is often of considerable length, and has its own verbal secution, which must be distinguished from that of the apod. Gen. 28. 20 אִם יִהְיֶה אֱ׳ עִמָּדִי וּשְׁמָרַנִי ... וְנָתַן ... וְשַׁבְתִּי ... וְהָיָה י׳ *if God will be* with me, *and will keep* me ... *and give* me ... *and I return* ... *then Y. shall be* my God. Deu. 13. 1-3 כִּי יָקוּם בְּקִרְבְּךָ נָבִיא ... וְנָתַן אֵלֶיךָ אוֹת ... וּבָא הָאוֹת ... לֹא תִשְׁמַע *if a prophet arises* among you ... *and gives* you a sign ... *and the sign come true ... you shall not listen.* Gen. 43. 9 אִם־לֹא הֲבִיאֹתִיו אֵלֶיךָ וְהִצַּגְתִּיו לְפָנֶיךָ וְחָטָאתִי לְךָ *if I do not bring him* to you *and set him* before you, *I shall be guilty of sinning* against you. Nu. 5. 27 אִם נִטְמְאָה וַתִּמְעֹל ... וּבָאוּ *if she has been defiled and acted unfaithfully* ... the waters that bring the curse *shall enter* into her. Gen. 46. 33, Jud. 4. 20, 1 S. 1. 11; 12. 14, 15; 17. 9, 2 S. 15. 34, 1 K. 9. 6; 11. 38; 12. 7.

Rem. 1. Additional exx. of real conditions. With אִם and YIQTOL in prot. and *Vav* consec. QATAL in apod.: Gen. 24. 8; 32. 9, Ex. 13. 13; 21. 5, 6, 11, Nu. 21. 2, Jud. 14. 12, 13; 21. 21, 1 S. 12. 15; 20. 6, 1 K. 6. 12; cohort. after אִם Job 16. 6. With YIQTOL in apod.: Gen. 30. 31; 42. 37, Ex. 20. 25, 1 S. 12. 25, 1 K. 1. 52, Is. 1. 18-20; 7. 9; 10. 22, Am. 5. 22; 9. 2-4, Ps. 50. 12. With כִּי in prot.: Gen. 32. 18; 46. 33, Ex. 21. 2, 7, 20, 22, 26, 28; 22. 4, 6, 9, Deu. 13. 13; 15. 16; 19. 16 *seq.*, Jos. 8. 5, 1 S. 20. 13, 2 S. 7. 12, 1 K. 8. 46, 2 K. 18. 22, Jer. 23. 33, Hos. 9. 16, Ps. 23. 4; 37. 24; 75. 3, Job 7. 13. With אֲשֶׁר: Lev. 4. 22, Jos. 4. 21, 1 K. 8. 31. Various forms of apod.: Gen. 4. 7; 24. 49; 27. 46; 30. 1; 31. 50, Ex. 8. 17; 10. 4; 33. 15, Jud. 9. 15, 1 S. 19. 11; 20. 7, 21; 21. 10, Is. 1. 15; 43. 2, Jer. 26. 15, Ps. 139. 8. הֵן in prot., Ex. 8. 22.

Rem. 2. The prot. is often strengthened by infin. absol., but only with

אִם and YIQTOL, not with כִּי nor with QATAL. Ex. 21. 5; 22. 3, 11, 12, 16, Nu. 21. 2, Deu. 8. 19, Jud. 11. 30, 1 S. 1. 11; 20. 6, 7, 9, 21 (§ 101*a*). So with הֵן, Is. 54. 15. The apod. may be strengthened by כִּי, Is. 7. 9, Jer. 22. 24, cf. Ex. 22. 22 where כִּי precedes אִם.

Rem. 3. In the casuistry of the Law the *subj.* sometimes precedes the conjunction, i.e. is extraposed and located in the main clause. Lev. 4. 2 נֶפֶשׁ כִּי־תֶחֱטָא if anyone sins; 5. 1, 4, 15; 7. 21; 12. 2; 13. 2 and often; Nu. 9. 10; 27. 8; 30. 3, 4; cf. 1 K. 8. 37, Is. 28. 15, 18, Ez. 14. 9, 13; 18. 5, 18; 33. 2, 6, 9. Cf. Ps. 62. 11. In secondary conditions the usual order is found, Lev. 13. 42, etc. The older order is general in Exodus, 22. 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, and often. In the group of laws in Ex. 21 *seq.* the principal condition is introduced by כִּי and the subordinate details follow with אִם or וְאִם, Ex. 21. 2-5, 7-11, etc.

§ 122. *Irreal* conditions. Actions not realised in the past, or considered not realisable (or unlikely) in the pres. or fut. may be made the subject of a condition. In this case לוּ (לֵא) *if*, and לוּלֵי (לוּלֵא) *if not, unless*, are used. The adverbs אָז, עַתָּה or כִּי are not uncommonly used in apod. (Rem. 2).

(*a*) In the case of actions set in the past QATAL stands both in prot. and apod. (§ 58*a*, *b*). Jud. 13. 23 לוּ חָפֵץ לַהֲמִיתֵנוּ לֹא לָקַח *if he had meant* to kill us *he would not have accepted* a burnt offering, 8. 19; Gen. 31. 42 לוּלֵי אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי הָיָה לִי כִּי עַתָּה שִׁלַּחְתָּנִי *unless* the God of my father *had been* on my side, surely now *you would have sent me away* empty, 43. 10. — Nu. 22. 33 (*rd.* לוּלֵי for אוּלַי?), Jud. 14. 18, 1 S. 14. 30 (apod. interr.); 25. 34, 2 S. 2. 27, Is. 1. 9, Ps. 94. 17; 119. 92 (both nominal prot.); 106. 23. Nu. 22. 29 (unless a wish with לוּ, § 155).

(*b*) When the context is pres. or fut. the apod. is usually YIQTOL, 2 S. 18. 12 לֹא אָנֹכִי שֹׁקֵל ... לֹא־אֶשְׁלַח יָדִי *if I weighed* a thousand shekels on my palm, *I would not put forth* my hand, 2 K. 3. 14; Deu. 32. 29 לוּ חָכְמוּ יַשְׂכִּילוּ *if they were wise they would understand* this, Job 16. 4. Mic. 2. 11, Ps. 81. 14. 2 S. 19. 7 (nominal prot. and apod.).

Rem. 1. Occasionally (to our way of thinking) the wrong conjunction seems to be used. Thus Ez. 14. 15 לוּ = אִם, Ps. 73. 15 אִם = לוּ.

Rem. 2. Exx. of אָז, עַתָּה, כִּי in apod.: Gen. 31. 42 (above); 43. 10, 2 S. 2. 27, Job 8. 6; 11. 15, 16, Pr. 2. 5. This kind of apod. may occur with no formal prot., the prot. having to be supplied; e.g. after neg., 1 S. 13. 13 you have not kept ... (if you had) *then Y. would have established;* or an interr., Job 3. 13 why breasts that I should suck? (if not) *then I should have lain down;* or a

gerundive infin., 2 K. 13. 19 you should have struck ... *then you would have smitten* Aram. Ex. 9. 15, Job 13. 19.

§ 123. What is equiv. to a cond. sent. may be expressed though coordination of clauses without any cond. conjunction. Particularly common is the use of two clauses both introduced by *Vav* cons. QATAL. Gen. 44. 22 וְעָזַב אֶת־אָבִיו וָמֵת *if he leave* his father *he will die*. Ex. 4. 14 וְרָאֲךָ וְשָׂמַח בְּלִבּוֹ *when he sees you he will be glad* in his heart. Gen. 33. 13; 42. 38; 44. 4, 29, Ex. 16. 21, Nu. 14. 15; 23. 20, 1 S. 16. 2; 19. 3; 25. 31, 1 K. 8. 30; 18. 10 (*and if they should say*), 2 K. 7. 9, Is. 21. 7, Jer. 18. 4, 8; 20. 9, Pr. 3. 24. This *Vav* cons. QATAL may have any of the senses proper to it, e.g. in past contexts, frequentative. Ex. 33. 10, 1 S. 14. 52, 1 K. 18. 10. Where *Vav* is not joined to the verb, YIQTOL will be used in either clause, Nu. 23. 20 וּבֵרַךְ וְלֹא אֲשִׁיבֶנָּה *if he blesses I cannot reverse it;* 2 K. 18. 21 אֲשֶׁר יִסָּמֵךְ אִישׁ עָלָיו וּבָא on which *if one lean it goes* into his hand. Deu. 22. 3, 1 S. 20. 13, Jos. 22. 18, Is. 29. 11, 12, Pr. 6. 22. Imper. for second QATAL, 1 S. 29. 10.

Two corresponding imper. may form a virtual condit. sent., Gen. 42. 18, Is. 8. 9. Cohort. in place of imper., Gen. 30. 28. Indeed, almost any form of expression with two clauses and lacking a condit. conj. may be equivalent to what in other languages could be put conditionally. Rem. 1.

Rem. 1. Such words as אֲשֶׁר *he who, whoever*, מִי, מִי אֲשֶׁר *whoever*, and similar phrases in effect form condit. clauses, Jud. 1. 12; 6. 31, Mic. 3. 5. And the conj. *and* without any particle may introduce a condit. cl., e.g. with יֵשׁ, לֹא, עוֹד, etc. Jud. 6. 13 וְיֵשׁ יי עִמָּנוּ *if then Y. be* with us, 2 K. 10. 15. Similarly the neg. וְלֹא *if not*, 2 S. 13. 26, 2 K. 5. 17. Is. 6. 13 וְעוֹד בָּהּ *if there still be* in it a tenth.

Otherwise clauses with 1. YIQTOL, Hos. 8. 12 *were I to write*, Is. 26. 10. Ps. 139. 18 *were I to count them*, Jud. 13. 12, Ps. 104. 22, 27-30, Pr. 26. 26. Two YIQTOLs, Song 8. 1. Short YIQTOL (§ 62*b*), Is. 41. 28, Job 10. 16. Cohort., Ps. 139. 8, 9, Job 19. 18. With הִנֵּה, 1 S. 9. 7. Cf. Ps. 46. 4; 109. 25; 146. 4.

2. QATAL, Job 7. 20, *be it I have sinned*, Ps. 139. 18 *if I awake*. Nu. 12. 14, Ps. 39. 12, Pr. 26. 12, Job 3. 25; 19. 4; 23. 10. With הִנֵּה, 2 S. 18. 11, Hos. 9. 6, Ez. 13. 12; 14. 22; 15. 4. And if QATAL naturally also *Vav* cons. YIQTOL, Jer. 5. 22, Ps. 139. 11. Ex. 20. 25, Job 23. 13, Pr. 11. 2. Two QATALs, Pr. 18. 22.

3. The ptcp., Is. 48. 13 קֹרֵא אֲנִי *if, when I call*, 2 S. 19. 8. Ptcp. with Art.

whoever, 2 S. 14. 10 *if anyone says*, Gen. 9. 6, Ex. 21. 12, 16 and often. Frequently in Pr., e.g. 17. 13; 18. 13; 27. 14; 29. 21, etc. Particularly ptcp. with כֹּל, 1 S. 2. 13, *when any man made a sacrifice*, Ex. 19. 12, Nu. 21. 8, Jud. 19. 30, 2 S. 2. 23, 2 K. 21. 12. With הִנֵּה, 1 K. 20. 36, 2 K. 7. 2.

4. Infin. absol., Pr. 25. 4, 5. Infin constr. with prep. (rare compared with temporal and other adv. types), Pr. 10. 25.

Temporal Clauses and Infinitive Phrases

§ 124. Many temporal statements are formed with a prep. and infin., e.g. בְּ, כְּ, לְ, מִן, לִפְנֵי, אַחֲרֵי, עַד, etc. These prepp. become conjunctions when the rel. אֲשֶׁר, כִּי is added to them, forming adverbial clauses. The rel. element אֲשֶׁר, however, is often omitted, the prep. directly introducing the clause. Temporal clauses or phrases are commonly preceded by וַיְהִי or וְהָיָה, punctuating a narrative or discourse time-wise.

(*a*) *When* is expressed by בְּ, כְּ with infin., or by כִּי, כַּאֲשֶׁר with finite verb (or nominal cl.). Gen. 39. 18 כַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי *when* I lifted up my voice, 24. 30. 4. 8 בִּהְיוֹתָם בַּשָּׂדֶה *when* they were in the field, 45. 1. Hos. 11. 1 כִּי נַעַר יִשְׂ׳ *when* Isr. (was) a child, Gen. 44. 24, Jos. 17. 13. Gen. 24. 22 כַּאֲשֶׁר כִּלּוּ לִשְׁתּוֹת *when* they had done drinking, Jud. 8. 33; 11. 5. The form כְּמוֹ once as conj. (without אֲשֶׁר), Gen. 19. 15. After a time word אֲשֶׁר may be *when* (adnominal), Hos. 2. 15, Ps. 95. 9. And אִם may often be translated *when* (see Cond. Cl.).

(*b*) *After* by אַחֲרֵי with infin. or אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר with finite verb. Gen. 14. 17 אַחֲרֵי שׁוּבוֹ *after* he returned (his returning), 13. 14; 24. 36. Deu. 24. 4 אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר הֻטַּמְאָה *after* she has been defiled. Jos. 9. 16, Jud. 11. 36; 19. 23, 2 S. 19. 31. Without אֲשֶׁר, Lev. 25. 48, 1 S. 5. 9.

(*c*) *Before* by לִפְנֵי with infin., Gen. 13. 10 לִפְנֵי שַׁחֵת י׳ אֶת־סְדֹם *before* Y. destroyed Sodom, 36. 31, 1 S. 9. 15, 2 S. 3. 35. As conj. Pr. 8. 25 (לִפְנֵי אֲשֶׁר is not found). Very often by בְּטֶרֶם, followed by YIQTOL even when referring to the past, prob. a conditioned usage. See for exx., § 62, R. 1. Rarely by QATAL, Ps. 90. 2, Pr. 8. 25.

(*d*) *Since* by מֵאָז with QATAL, Ex. 9. 24 מֵאָז הָיְתָה לְגוֹי *since* it became a nation. Gen. 39. 5, Ex. 5. 23, Jos. 14. 10, Is. 14. 8, Jer. 44. 18. Cf. אָז, adv. *then* (§ 62, R. 1). It has nominal force in מֵאָז adv. *formerly, long ago* (Is. 16. 13, Ps. 93. 2, etc.) and prob. therefore in מֵאָז with infin., Ex. 4. 10, or with following noun, Ru. 2. 7 (*since* morning).

(*e*) *Until* by עַד with infin., or עַד אֲשֶׁר, עַד כִּי, עַד אִם, עַד אִם with finite verb, with reference to past or fut., §§ 59*a*, 64*a*. Gen. 24. 19 עַד אִם־כִּלּוּ לִשְׁתּוֹת *until* they (shall) have done drinking. 27. 45 עַד־שׁוּב אַף־אָחִיךָ *till* your brother's anger turn away. 27. 44 עַד־אֲשֶׁר־תָּשׁוּב חֲמַת אָחִיךָ *till* your brother's rage shall turn away. Gen. 28. 15; 29. 8, Ex. 23. 30, Deu. 3. 20, Jud. 4. 24, 1 S. 22. 3; 30. 4, 1 K. 17. 17. Exx. of עַד כִּי Gen. 26. 13; 41. 49; 49. 10, 2 S. 23. 10. Of עַד אִם Gen. 24. 33, Is. 30. 17. Of עַד אֲשֶׁר אִם Gen. 28. 15, Nu. 32. 17, Is. 6. 11. Of simple עַד with finite verb Gen. 38. 11, Jos. 2. 22, 1 S. 1. 22, 2 K. 7. 3, Ps. 110. 1, Pr. 7. 23.

(*f*) *As often as* by מִדֵּי with infin., 1 S. 1. 7; 18. 30, 1 K. 14. 28, 2 K. 4. 8, Is. 28. 19; once YIQTOL, Jer. 20. 8.

Rem. 1. *After* in some cases = *seeing that*, Gen. 41. 39, Jos. 7. 8, Jud. 11. 36, 2 S. 19. 31, cf. Ezr. 9. 13 (common in post bibl. Hebr.). *After* has also a pregnant sense = *after the death*, or *departure of*. Gen. 24. 67 אַחֲרֵי אִמּוֹ *after* his mother's *death*. Job 21. 21, Pr. 20. 7. Frequently in Ecc., אַחֲרַי *when I am gone*. Cf. לְפָנַי *before I came*, Gen. 30. 30.

Rem. 2. Time statements by coordination. Circumst. clauses may be rendered by *when, while*, § 137. On the expression of sentences like *and when you overtake* them *you shall say* (Gen. 44. 4) by two *Vav* cons. QATALs, cf. § 123.

Causal Clauses and Infinitive Phrases

§ 125. Causality may, in suitable contexts, be expressed by coordination, especially by circumst. cl., § 137. Ex. 23. 9 you shall not oppress a stranger וְאַתֶּם יְדַעְתֶּם נֶפֶשׁ הַגֵּר *because you yourselves know* the feelings of a stranger; cf. Neh. 2. 3.

Commonly used is כִּי *because*, Gen. 8. 9. Similarly אֲשֶׁר Gen. 30. 18, 1 S. 26. 16, 1 K. 3. 19, 2 K. 17. 4, Jer. 20. 17, Zech. 11. 2 (both). Also the prep. יַעַן coupled with rel. אֲשֶׁר or כִּי. Is. 7. 5 יַעַן כִּי־יָעַץ רָעָה *because he has purposed* evil. Often in Is., 3. 16; 8. 6; 29. 13; elsewhere, Nu. 11. 20, 1 K. 13. 21; 21. 29. Very common יַעַן אֲשֶׁר; 1 S. 30. 22 יַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא הָלְכוּ עִמִּי *because they went not* with me. Gen. 22. 16, Deu. 1. 36, Jud. 2. 20, 1 K. 3. 11; 14. 7, 15. Also יַעַן alone as conj., Nu. 20. 12 יַעַן לֹא הֶאֱמַנְתֶּם *because* you believed not, 1 K. 14. 13, 2 K. 22. 19. As prep. with infin., Is. 30. 12 יַעַן מָאָסְכֶם *because of your rejecting*, 37. 29, Jer. 5. 14; 7. 13; 23. 38, Am. 5. 11, etc. (only in prophets and 1 K. 21. 20).

Rem. 1. Several prepp. have causal force, as בְּ, עַל, תַּחַת, mostly in composition with אֲשֶׁר or כִּי. Gen. 39. 9, 23 (בַּאֲשֶׁר). Is. 43. 4 (מֵאֲשֶׁר). More commonly עַל אֲשֶׁר, Deu. 29. 24, 2 S. 3. 30, 1 K. 9. 9. So עַל כִּי, Deu. 31. 17, Jud. 3. 12, Ps. 139. 14. With rel. omitted in neg. clause, Gen. 31. 20, Ps. 119. 136. Often עַל with infin., Am. 1. 3, 6, 9, 11, etc. תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר, Deu. 28. 47, 1 S. 26. 21, 2 K. 22. 17, Is. 53. 12. So תַּחַת כִּי, Deu. 4. 37. עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר, Gen. 22. 18; 26. 5, 2 S. 12. 6 (עַל אֲשֶׁר in next clause). So עֵקֶב כִּי, 2 S. 12. 10, Am. 4. 12. Without rel., Nu. 14. 24. Cf. Deu. 23. 5.

Rem. 2. The causal relation expressed by כִּי is not always easy to define. Thus rather than giving a precise cause or reason for what has happened (or is about to happen), it supplies what we would call a justification for it (Is. 2. 6; 3. 8) or an explanation of it (Is. 1. 30; 5. 7). Engl. *for* may be compared. But beyond that כִּי is used as an adverb *surely* and to introduce subj. and obj. clauses (*that*), conditional clauses (*if*)and temporal clauses (*when*) as well as causal. There must be some underlying relational meaning which connects all of these. Further study is needed. So in the case of אֲשֶׁר, which has a similar range of usages.

Final or Purpose Clauses and Infinitive Phrases

§ 126. Purpose may be expressed (*a*) by the use of וְ (simple *Vav*) with jussive, cohort., e.g. after an imper., or anything with similar modal meaning, as another juss., cohort. Gen. 24. 14 הַטִּי־נָא כַדֵּךְ וְאֶשְׁתֶּה let down your pitcher *that I may drink*. Cf. Is. 5. 19 after לְמַעַן in first clause. Similarly after a wish, or a neg. or interr. clause. See § 87. In this case the *neg.* purpose is expressed by וְלֹא with YIQTOL.

(*b*) by infin. constr. with לְ. Jud. 3. 1 לְנַסּוֹת בָּם אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל *in order to prove* Israel by them. The neg. purpose in this case is expressed by לְבִלְתִּי. Gen. 4. 15 לְבִלְתִּי הַכּוֹת־אֹתוֹ *that* whoever found him *might not kill him*. Cf. §§ 107, 109.

§ 127. More formal telic conj. are לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר with YIQTOL, more commonly לְמַעַן. Jer. 42. 6 לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יִיטַב־לָנוּ *that it may be well* with us. Gen. 18. 19, Lev. 17. 5, 2 S. 13. 5. Gen. 27. 25 לְמַעַן תְּבָרֶכְךָ נַפְשִׁי *in order that I may bless you*. Gen. 12. 13, Ex. 4. 5, Deu. 4. 1, Hos. 8. 4, Is. 41. 20. Or לְמַעַן with infin. Jud. 2. 22 לְמַעַן נַסּוֹת בָּם *in order to prove* by them, cf. simple לְ, Jud. 3. 1 (in *b* above). Gen. 37. 22, Jud. 3. 2, Jos. 11. 20, Am. 2. 7, etc. The simple אֲשֶׁר is also common, Deu. 4. 10 אֲשֶׁר יִלְמְדוּן לְיִרְאָה אֹתִי *that they may learn* to fear me. Nu. 23. 13, Deu. 4. 40; 6. 3 (cf. *vs.* 2); 32. 46. The neg. clause is usually made by אֲשֶׁר לֹא,

Gen. 11. 7, Ex. 20. 26; but also by לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא, Deu. 20. 18, Nu. 17. 5, and by לְמַעַן לֹא, Ez. 19. 9, Ps. 119. 11, 80.

In the same sense בַּעֲבוּר אֲשֶׁר with YIQTOL, Gen. 27. 10; more usually בַּעֲבוּר with YIQTOL, Gen. 27. 4, or infin., 2 S. 10. 3.

Rem. 1. The conjs. לְמַעַן, etc. are properly telic, and do not express merely result. But sometimes the purpose seems to animate the action rather than the agent, Am. 2. 7, Mic. 6. 16, Ps. 30. 13; 51. 6. In many instances purpose and result clauses are not easily distinguished.

Rem. 2. On occasion *Vav* cons. QATAL may attract a nuance of design or, more frequently, of effect or consequence from the wider context. § 87, R. 3.

§ 128. The special telic neg. פֶּן־ *lest, that not* expresses *motive* or a note of precaution, and hence is much used after (*a*) imper. (juss., cohort.) and neg. clause. Gen. 3. 3 you shall not touch it פֶּן־תְּמֻתוּן *lest you die*, 19. 17; 38. 23, Ex. 5. 3, Jud. 18. 25, 2 S. 1. 20, Is. 6. 10.

(*b*) words of *fearing*, expressed or understood. Gen. 32. 12 I fear him פֶּן־יָבוֹא וְהִכַּנִי *lest he come* and smite me, 26. 7, 9. Gen. 3. 22 וְעַתָּה פֶּן־יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ and now (I am concerned) *lest he put forth* his hand, 19. 19. Frequently in this sense introduced by a verb of *saying*, Gen. 38. 11 כִּי אָמַר פֶּן־יָמוּת גַּם הוּא for he thought, *Lest he die too*, 31. 31; 42. 4, Nu. 16. 34, Deu. 32. 27. After *beware*, Gen. 31. 24 הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ פֶּן־תְּדַבֵּר take care *not to speak*, 24. 6, Deu. 4. 23, and often in Deu. Sometimes in the sense of Latin *ne* in independent cl., giving a warning, Ex. 34. 15 פֶּן־ תִּכְרֹת בְּרִית *avoid making* a covenant. Is. 36. 18, Jer. 51. 46, Job 32. 13.

Result Clauses

§ 129. Consequence may be expressed by simple *Vav* with jussive. After neg. clause, Nu. 23. 19 לֹא אִישׁ אֵל וְיכַזֵּב God is not a man *that he should die*. Or interr. cl., Hos. 14. 10. § 87.

More formal particles of consequence are כִּי *that*, אֲשֶׁר *that, so that*. 2 K. 5. 7 הֲאֱלֹהִים אָנִי ... כִּי זֶה שֹׁלֵחַ אֵלַי am I God ... *that this person sends* to me? And often in questions, Gen. 20. 10, Ex. 3. 11, Nu. 16. 11, Job 6. 11; 7. 12, Ps. 8. 5. Or after neg., Gen. 40. 15 I have done nothing כִּי־שָׂמוּ אֹתִי בַּבּוֹר *that they should have put* me in the dungeon. With אֲשֶׁר, 2 K. 9. 37 אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יֹאמְרוּ זֹאת אִיזֶבֶל *so that none can say*, This is

Jez. Gen. 22. 14, Deu. 28. 27, 51, Mal. 3. 19, Ps. 95. 11. Cf. 1 K. 3. 12, 13.

Comparative Clauses and Infinitive Phrases

§ 130. These clauses usually have כַּאֲשֶׁר and are followed by כֵּן in apod. Gen. 41. 13 כַּאֲשֶׁר פָּתַר־לָנוּ כֵּן הָיָה *as* he interpreted to us, *so* it was. Ex. 1. 12, Jud. 1. 7, Is. 31. 4; 52. 14, 15; 65. 8, Ps. 48. 9; cf. transposed order, Gen. 18. 5, Ex. 10. 10, 2 S. 5. 25. Or prep. כְּ with infin. (or noun) is used, Hos. 4. 7 כְּרָבָּם כֵּן חָטְאוּ־לִי *as* they multiplied, *so* they sinned against me (*the more ... the more*). Ps. 48. 11; 123. 2, Pr. 26. 1, 8, 18, 19. 1 S. 9. 13 (temporal).

In the prot. כַּאֲשֶׁר may be omitted. Hos. 11. 2 קָרְאוּ לָהֶם כֵּן הָלְכוּ (the more) they were called, *the more* they went from me. Jud. 5. 15, Jer. 3. 20, Is. 55. 9, Ps. 48. 6. Sometimes the particle may be omitted from both clauses, the comparison being implied, Is. 62. 5. More frequently the two clauses are equated by *Vav*, especially in proverbial comparisons. Pr. 26. 14 the door turns on its hinges וְעָצֵל עַל־מִטָּתוֹ *and* (so) a sluggard on his bed. Pr. 11. 16; 17. 3; 25. 3, 20, 25; 26. 7, 9, 21, Job 5. 7; 12. 11; 14. 11, 12. Sometimes without *and*, Pr. 25. 26, 28.

Rem. 1. In some passages כֵּן *so* expresses the corresponding *time* of the two clauses and almost indicates result or consequence, Ps. 48. 6 they saw *so* they feared (as soon as they saw, etc.). Cf. 1 K. 20. 40, Nah. 1. 12.

SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCE

SIMPLE, COMPLEX, COMPOUND AND INCOMPLETE SENTENCES

§ 131. A sentence may be broadly defined as a stretch of language which is syntactically independent. It may express a command (which does not have a subject) or an exclamation (which usually lacks a grammatical structure), but in most cases it presupposes a subject and a predicate (which may be verbal or nominal and include additional elements like a verbal object or an adverb or prep. phrase). A clause, the unit one below a sentence, also contains a subj. and pred., but it need not be independent. When it is independent, it in effect forms a *simple* sentence. When it is dependent (subordinate), it and the main clause together make up a *complex* sentence. When it and another clause are closely coordinated by *Vav* or another conjunction, or are in apposition to each other, the two clauses together make up a *compound* sentence. (Sometimes, in both complex and compound sentences, more than two clauses may be involved).

The syntax of independent and dependent clauses (and therefore of simple and complex sentences) has already been largely covered, the former *passim* via their component parts (pronoun, noun, adjective, verb, object, adverb) and the latter under the headings relative clauses (§§ 9ff.), subj. and obj. clauses (§§ 51, 90) and adverbial clauses (§§ 119ff.). The coordination of verbs (strictly of clauses) by means of the *Vav* consecutive constructions to indicate sequence, or of simple *Vav* to indicate non-sequence, has also been treated (§§ 69ff., 84ff.). There remain to be considered: (*a*) circumstantial clauses (in some cases better, sentences), which are linked by (simple) *Vav* to their context to give various kinds of background or concomitant information; (*b*) a number of compound sentences recognised by their structures, in which the constituent clauses are coordinated by (simple) *Vav* or other conj., and related to each other in terms of equivalence, contrast, inclusion, exclusion, etc.; (*c*) compound

sentences involving clauses in apposition or with asyndeton (i.e. without *Vav*); (*d*) sentences with an extraposed element (*casus pendens*); and (*e*) some other sentence types, simple or otherwise, not so far formally dealt with, viz. questions, wishes and oaths, and exclamations.

§ 132. *Incomplete* sentences occur when a normal element of structure is missing and has to be understood. Such an ellipsis is to be assumed in most exclamations (§ 157), or it may be of a stereotyped formula as commonly before אִם or אִם לֹא in oaths (§ 157); see also the "pregnant" construction, § 118*b;* but it is more likely to take place when there is something in the context which can supply what is missing. This is the case in a short answer or response to a previous question or statement, Jud. 13. 11 are you the man ... ? אָנִי *I* (am the man ...). Cf. 1 S. 1. 15 לֹא (I am) *not* (drunk); 9. 12 (יֵשׁ); 12. 5 עֵד (he is) *witness*; 27. 10 (a prep. phrase), 1 K. 18. 10 (אָיִן). Or when the prot. of a conditional sentence has to be supplied from what goes before, especially when the apod. is introduced by אָז, עַתָּה or כִּי, § 122, R. 2. So commonly following וְאִם לֹא *and if not*, Gen. 24. 49, 1 S. 2. 16. See also Antithetical, Exclusive and Disjunctive sentences. And more generally when in two connected clauses an element in the first is dispensed with in the second. So a shared subj. in a second nominal clause, Jos. 5. 13 הֲלָנוּ אַתָּה אִם לְצָרֵינוּ are *you* for us or (are you) for our enemies? Even when the pred. is a ptcp., § 113*a*. Also when הִנֵּה begins the second clause, § 54. In a second verbal clause a common subj. is similarly often not repeated, but this is not a strict ellipsis, as it is still represented within the verbal form. Frequently, however, there is ellipsis (or *gapping*, as it is sometimes called) of an obj. from the first clause or a pronom. suffix referring back to it, particularly after certain verbs. Exx, §§ 3, R. 3; 89, R. 4. The ellipsis of a verb is not common in prose, except where two clauses are in a particularly close relationship, e.g. after the conj. אַף כִּי *how much the more, less* (§ 143*c*) or in the second half of an alternative condition, 1 S. 26. 19 אִם הֱסִיתְךָ בִי ... וְאִם בְּנֵי הָאָדָם if Y. *has incited you against me* ... but if human beings (have incited you against me). Of the pred. in a nominal clause in a similar case, 1 K. 18. 21.

Ellipsis or gapping of the verb or indeed of other clausal elements is much more characteristic of poetry, where it is commonly exploited in the interests of the metre or the parallelism. In contradistinction to prose,

however, the ellipsis may occur in a first clause (colon) rather than a second, and the name *double-duty* has been coined to account for this. Ellipsis of a verb, Hos. 5. 8 תִּקְעוּ *blow* the trumpet in G., (blow) the horn in R.; Ps. 18. 42 (also of prepos. object) ... עַל־יי ... יְשַׁוְּעוּ *they cried for help* (to Y.), but there was none to save; (they cried for help) *to Y.*, but he did not answer them. Jer. 51. 31, Ps. 56. 14. Of the subj., Ps. 121. 7 ... יְשָׁמֹר ... יְיָ יִשְׁמָרְךָ *Y.* will keep you from all evil, he will keep your soul; 29. 5. Frequently of possessive suffix to noun or object suffix to verb; exx, § 3, R. 3. Of interr. pron., a negative, or various particles, Ps. 9. 19 כִּי לֹא לָנֶצַח יִשָּׁכַח אֶבְיוֹן תִּקְוַת עֲנָוִים תֹּאבַד לָעַד for *not* for ever shall the needy be forgotten; the hope of the poor shall (not) perish for aye; 89. 7 כִּי מִי for *who* in the heavens can be compared to Y.? (Who) is like Y. among the sons of God?; 2. 1 (לָמָּה); 13. 5 (פֶּן־); 92. 6 (מָה). Of prepp., Ps. 36. 7 (כְּ) your righteousness is *like* the divine mountains, your judgments (like) the great deep; 18. 42 (עַל־); 65. 5 (בְּ); 114. 8 (לְ).

The Syntactic Role of Sentence Word-Order and of *VAV*

§ 133. For word-order in nominal clauses, which is dependent on the definiteness or indefiniteness of the predicate, the subj. coming first in the first case and the pred. in the second, see § 49*a, b*. In verbal clauses, whether independent or dependent, the normal order is verb first followed by the subj. and then the rest of the pred. (except that long YIQTOL, espec. in prose, tends to avoid initial position, §§ 63, 64). On the placing of the verbal obj. see §§ 91, 92. Of adverbs and prepos. phrases, § 116, R. 2. When, overriding these patterns, the subj. or the obj. or, on occasion, an adverb or prepos. phrase is put first, they are naturally being focussed upon or emphasized; but there is more to it than that. As many of the sentence types treated below show, such word-order often has a syntactic function as well, macrosyntactic in supplying a longer stretch of text with a variety of means to give structuring signals or make off-line remarks (see for narrative §§ 58*b*, 80 and for discourse §§ 64*a*, 72; see also Circumstantial clauses and Sentences with extraposition), and microsyntactic in assisting to relate clauses within a compound sent. for similarity, contrast, etc. Properly, therefore, the so-called normal order should rather be regarded as the *unmarked* order, used only when these

macrosyntactic or microsyntactic ends are not being promoted.

§ 134. The conj. *Vav* is by far the commonest coordinator in Hebr., being an essential element in all but a few (§§ 143-145) of the aforementioned sentence types and in addition, as *Vav* cons., serving to link clauses in sequential narrative or discourse. By comparison subordinating clauses are less frequently employed. This preference for coordination rather than subordination and for coordination by *Vav* rather than by other conjunctions has sometimes led to Hebr. being compared to its disadvantage with other languages, which are supposed to show more variety and flexibility in their syntax. This is not a fair assessment, often being based, via a tradition of rather literal translation, on versions in Engl. and other western languages rather than on the Hebr. text. Thus western languages cannot distinguish between sequential and non-sequential coordination as Hebr. with its use of *Vav* cons. on the one hand and simple *Vav* on the other does. Nor can they easily reproduce the differences in word-order in adjacent clauses linked by *Vav* through which, rather than by using another conj., Hebr. differentiates among most of the sentence types being considered here. Only the "and" survives in translation, and its different forms and the different constructions which accompany it are suppressed. In short, the very features of its syntax which supply Hebr. with *its* brand of variety and flexibility are set aside. It is yet another instance of translated Hebr. being made the standard of judgment. See §§ 55, R. 2; 69, R. 1.

Rem. 1. Discontinuous elements. Disruption of normal word-order may also take place when a phrase considered to be too long is split, part of it occupying its expected slot and the rest being shifted to the end of a clause, Jud. 7. 8 they took the provisions of the people in their hand וְאֶת־שׁוֹפְרוֹתֵיהֶם *and their trumpets.* An adnominal phrase may be similarly separated from its noun, Jud. 14. 1 he saw a woman in Timnah מִבְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים *from the daughters of the Ph.* So with list-like phrases in nominal clauses, 2 S. 14. 9 on me, O king, be the guilt וְעַל־בֵּית אָבִי *and on my father's house.* 1 K. 20. 1.

Rem. 2. Ill-considered comparisons, whether based on gramm. matters like the use of "and" or on vocabulary, between biblical Hebr. and New Testament Greek should in particular be avoided, e.g. that Hebr. is a simple and concrete lang. and Greek a philosophical and involved one. Such comparisons either do not appreciate the adaptability of Hebr. or are too fond of transferring to the lang. what really belongs to cultures at different stages

of development. When, in a period much later than the biblical, Hebr. was required to express philosophical thought, it proved perfectly capable of doing so.

Rem. 3. Adding to its remarkable range are a number of other usages of *Vav*, where "and" would not normally be used in translation. See §§ 37, 78 (explanatory), § 71 (*apodosi*), § 86, 87 (with modal verbs to express effect or purpose).

Circumstantial Clauses (Sentences)

§ 135. Circumstantial clauses, as they have traditionally been called, are very varied. They may be either verbal or nominal, particularly the latter. They nearly always begin with *Vav* and after it the subj., though not in either case exclusively (§ 137*d*, R. 1). They usually follow the statement to which they have reference, but may precede it. They are mostly contemporary with their context, but may describe an event or situation prior to it. They occur in both sequential and non-sequential genres, though they are not so common in poetry as in prose. They are sometimes appended loosely to their context, as in effect simple sentences, and sometimes linked to a preceding clause, making up a kind of compound sentence. But whatever their precise form, they are essentially (or, at any rate, ideally) marginal to what precedes or follows, giving additional or incidental information of various kinds.

§ 136. In formal prose narrative they often have a macrosyntactic function, beginning a narrative or an episode within it by introducing a new topic or character or reintroducing an old, or by providing a necessary backward reference; accompanying a time statement; or bringing a narrative or episode to a close. When two (or more) circ. clauses occur together, the second may continue the first or itself be circumstantial to the first. On occasion a circ. clause that opens a story or episode or that follows a time reference may seem, oddly to our way of thinking, to describe an on-line action or happening rather than an off-line leading up to it. Rem. 1. Circ. clauses are also found with similar functions, but much less frequently, in sequential discourse.

(*a*) At the start of a story, etc., Gen. 3. 1 וְהַנָּחָשׁ הָיָה עָרוּם *now the serpent was more cunning*, etc., and he said to the woman; 4.1 וְהָאָדָם יָדַע אֶת־חַוָּה (*and*) *the man had intercourse with Eve his wife*, and she

conceived; Jud. 3. 20 וְאֵהוּד בָּא אֵלָיו וְהוּא יֹשֵׁב (*and*) *Ehud came to him, as he was sitting.* Gen. 2. 20(*b*) (cf. *vss.* 18, 19); 14. 10; 24. 29 (beginning with וּלְרִבְקָה, cf. § 137*d*); 39. 1; 41. 56; 43. 1; 45. 16; 48. 10, Ex. 3. 1; 14. 10, 18, Deu. 4. 21; 10. 6, Jud. 6. 19, 33, 1 K. 20. 1, 23, 35, 2 K. 4. 1, 38, 42. With backward reference, Gen. 1. 2 וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ *now the earth had been waste and void* (if the sense is that God did not create the chaos; other circ. clauses follow, with the first "act" coming at *vs.* 3); 24. 62 וְיִצְחָק בָּא *now Isaac had come* from B. (another circ. clause follows). Gen. 16. 1; 31. 34, Ex. 12. 35.

(*b*) Accompanying a structuring time statement, the whole beginning either with or without וַיְהִי (§ 80), Gen. 2. 4(*b*)-6 בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת יי׳ א׳ אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמָיִם וְכֹל שִׂיחַ הַשָּׂדֶה טֶרֶם יִהְיֶה ... in the day when Y. God made earth and heaven *and there was as yet no plant of the field* in the earth, nor had ... (other circ. clauses follow, the narrative proper beginning at *vs.* 7); 22. 1 וַיְהִי אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְהָא׳ נִסָּה אֶת־אַבְרָהָם and it was, after these things, *God tested Abraham;* 29. 9 עוֹדֶנּוּ מְדַבֵּר עִמָּם וְרָחֵל בָּאָה he was still speaking with them *when Rachel came.* Gen. 6. 1; 7. 6; 15. 12, 17; 19. 4, 23; 27. 30; 37. 2; 42. 35, Jud. 18. 3, 1 S. 9. 27, 1 K. 18. 7; 20. 39, 2 K. 8. 5; 13. 21.

(*c*) Closing a story, etc., Gen. 6. 8 וְנֹחַ מָצָא חֵן *but* (*meanwhile*) *N. found grace* in the eyes of Y.; 25. 26 וְיִצְחָק בֶּן־שִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה (*and*) *Is. was sixty years old* when she bore them (infin. phrase). Gen. 16. 16; 18. 33; 24. 21; 30. 36; 37. 36, Ex. 7. 7; 11. 10, Jud. 4. 3; 16. 31.

(*d*) In future discourse, Gen. 44. 30 when I come to your servant my father וְהַנַּעַר אֵינֶנּוּ אִתָּנוּ *and the lad is not with us.* Gen. 42. 16 (imper.), 1 K. 18. 12 (with וְהָיָה).

§ 137. More tied to its immediate context, whether within a story or a piece of future discourse or, very frequently, in various kinds of mixed discourse, a circ. clause describes a concomitant action or condition or has functions similar to relative or adverbial, espec. causal, clauses. The varied usages are often reflected in Engl. by other conjunction: *if, but, with, while, when, seeing that,* etc.

(*a*) Nominal clauses, Gen. 11. 4 let us build a tower וְרֹאשׁוֹ בַּשָּׁמַיִם *with its head in the heavens;* 18. 12 shall I have pleasure וַאדֹנִי זָקֵן *when my husband is old?;* 24. 15 behold Reb. came out ... וְכַדָּהּ עַל־שִׁכְמָהּ *her pitcher on her shoulder;* Ex. 21. 28 the ox shall be stoned וּבַעַל הַשּׁוֹר

... נָקִי *while the owner of the ox* (shall be) *free* (of liability); 1 S. 18. 23 is it a light thing to be son-in-law of the king וְאָנֹכִי אִישׁ־רָשׁ *seeing that I am a poor man?* Gen. 2. 12; 13. 2; 18. 27; 20. 3; 24. 10; 37. 2; 44. 26, 30, Ex. 17. 9; 24. 17; 25. 20; 34. 29, Deu. 9. 15, Jos. 17. 14, Jud. 19. 27, Jer. 2. 11, 37, Hos. 6. 4, Am. 3. 4, 5.

(*b*) Participal clauses, Gen. 1. 2 וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת *and the spirit of God* (was) *sweeping;* 15. 2 וְאָנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ עֲרִירִי *seeing I go childless;* 1 S. 4. 12 there ran a man of Benj. ... וּמַדָּיו קְרֻעִים *with his garments rent;* Is. 6. 1 I saw Adonai ... וְשׁוּלָיו מְלֵאִים אֶת־הַהֵיכָל *while his train filled the temple;* 11. 6 וְנַעַר קָטֹן נֹהֵג בָּם *a little child leading them.* Gen. 14. 12, 13; 18. 1, 8; 19. 1; 24. 62; 25. 26; 28. 12; 32. 32; 37. 25; 44. 14, Ex. 2. 5; 14. 27, 29; 18. 14, Deu. 9. 15, Jud. 3. 20; 4. 1; 6. 11; 13. 9, 20, 1 S. 10. 5; 22. 6, 1 K. 1. 48; 22. 16, Is. 49. 21; 60. 11.

(*c*) Verbal clauses, with stative QATAL, Gen. 26. 27 why have you come to me וְאַתֶּם שְׂנֵאתֶם אֹתִי *when you hate me?;* 18. 13; 29. 17. With QATAL in backward reference, Gen. 24. 56 delay me not וַיהוָה הִצְלִיחַ דַּרְכִּי *when Y. has prospered my journey;* 1 K. 1. 41 A. and his guests heard it וְהֵם כִּלּוּ לֶאֱכֹל *having just finished feasting.* Gen. 24. 31; 39. 8, Lev. 5. 1, Jud. 8. 11, Am. 3. 6, Ru. 1. 21. With YIQTOL, Nu. 14. 3 why does Y. bring us into this land ... וְטַפֵּנוּ יִהְיוּ לָבַז *if our children are to become a prey?* Am. 3. 6.

(*d*) There are a few anomalies in word-order when something other than the subj. comes after *Vav.* Thus אֵין *there is not,* Is. 17. 2 they shall lie down וְאֵין מַחֲרִיד *none making them afraid.* Gen. 39. 11, Lev. 26. 6, Is. 13. 14, Jer. 9. 21, Pr. 28. 1 (in Ps. 35. 8, Pr. 5. 6 similar clauses are put in apposition). So anaphoric prep. phrases as pred., Jud. 3. 16 he made a dagger וְלָהּ שְׁנֵי פִיוֹת *having two edges;* Is. 6. 6 there flew one of the Seraphim וּבְיָדוֹ רִצְפָּה *with a hot stone in his hand.* 2 S. 16. 1, Ez. 40. 2, Am. 7. 7, Zech. 2. 5. So the adv. שָׁם *there,* Ex. 15. 27. Cf. עוֹד, Gen. 29. 9 (§ 136*b*), 1 K. 1. 14 (fut.), Job 1. 16-18.

Rem. 1. It is peculiar that an initial clause or a clause following a time statement should have circ. form when they seem in both cases to be part of the story and not, as a circ. clause should be, off the story line, cf. Gen. 4. 1, Jud. 3. 20 in § 136*a;* Gen. 22. 1 in § 136*b.* It also seems odd to us that in the second case the time reference (whether or not preceded by וַיְהִי) should, while beginning with the subj., usually lack *Vav.* The clause stating the time

may contain either a QATAL verb, indicating that its action took place or at any rate began prior to the action of the second, or a ptcp., indicating that its action is simultaneous with that of the second.

Exx. with QATAL: Gen. 44. 3 הַבֹּקֶר אוֹר וְהָאֲנָשִׁים שֻׁלְּחוּ *morning had broken and the men were sent away* (i.e. *when*, etc.); 1 S. 20. 41 הַנַּעַר בָּא וְדָוִד קָם *when the lad had gone, David arose.* With *Vav*, Jud. 3. 24 וְהוּא יָצָא וַעֲבָדָיו בָּאוּ *when he had gone, the servants came.* Neg., 2 K. 20. 4 ... וַיְהִי י׳ לֹא יָצָא וּדְבַר־י׳ הָיָה אֵלָיו and it was, *before Isaiah had left ... the word of Y. came to him.* Gen. 19. 23, Jos. 2. 8 (with טֶרֶם and YIQTOL, § 62, R. 1), Jud. 15. 14, 1 S. 9. 5; 20. 36, 2 S. 2. 24; 6. 16; 17. 24. With הִנֵּה in second clause, Gen. 24. 15, Jud. 18. 22.

Exx. with ptcp.: 1 S. 9. 27 הֵמָּה יֹרְדִים וּשְׁ׳ אָמַר *as they were coming down, Samuel said;* 1 K. 20. 40 וַיְהִי עַבְדְּךָ עֹשֶׂה הֵנָּה וָהֵנָּה וְהוּא אֵינֶנּוּ and it was, *as your servant was busy here and there, he was no more.* 1 S. 7. 10; 9. 11; 17. 23; 23. 26-27, 1 K. 1. 22; 20. 39. With הִנֵּה in second clause, Jud. 19. 22, 1 S. 9. 14; 17. 23; 25. 20. With nominal clause instead of ptcp., Jud. 19. 11. With עוֹד and ptcp., Gen. 29. 9, 1 K. 1. 14.

That the first clause, that setting the time, is genuinely circ. is probably shown by the minority of cases where *Vav* is present. It is not so certain that the second is, though it has *Vav*, as it can be substituted by an independent הִנֵּה clause or even a *Vav* cons., e.g. 1 K. 13. 20. The same is true of initial clauses that seem on-line. The whole problem requires further study.

Rem. 2. The circumstantial use of *and*, though particularly characteristic of Hebr., is found in many languages,

> And shall the figure of God's majesty
> Be judged, and he himself not present!

> How can ye chaunt, ye little birds,
> An' I sae weary, fu' o' care!

COMPOUND SENTENCES WITH *VAV*

§ 138. In these sentences the constituent clauses are coordinated with (simple) *Vav* and are therefore normally on the same time scale; but it is the different ways in which they are patterned that enable them to be classified as Conjunctive, Chiastic, Contrastive, or Antithetical (Andersen). They are found piecemeal in extended narrative or discourse where, like circumst. clauses, they break the chain of sequence established by the *Vav* cons. forms to bring in a non-sequential statement; but they occur more often and more freely in more heterogeneous passages of prose discourse

and in poetry. With their (on the whole) careful patterning they are particularly suited for use in poetic parallelism.

Conjunctive Sentences

§ 139. Conjunctive sents. are the least specific of the four types, simply coordinating by *Vav* clauses which are broadly symmetrical in their structure and similar in their function. Two clauses are general but, unlike in the other types, there may be three or more. The clauses may begin with an identical verb or, though focussing, other clausal element, especially the subj., but often a synonym is used. All the elements of the first clause may be repeated in the second but, because of the similarity in context, ellipsis is not unusual. Many of the cases of like conjugations or moods linked by simple *Vav* are properly conjunctive sents., § 86.

(*a*) Nominal conj. sents., Gen. 28. 17 אֵין זֶה כִּי אִם־בֵּית אֱלֹהִים וְזֶה שַׁעַר הַשָּׁמָיִם *this is* none other than *the house of God, and this the gate of heaven;* 42. 36 יוֹסֵף אֵינֶנּוּ וְשִׁמְעוֹן אֵינֶנּוּ Jos. is no more, and Sim. is no more; Ex. 9. 27. יְ׳ הַצַּדִּיק וַאֲנִי וְעַמִּי הָרְשָׁעִים *Y. is the one in the right, and I and my people are the ones in the wrong;* Jer. 48. 37 עַל כָּל־יָדַיִם גִּדֻּדֹת וְעַל־מָתְנַיִם שָׂק *upon all the hands are gashes, and on (all) loins is sackcloth;* Pr. 3. 17 דְּרָכֶיהָ דַרְכֵי־נֹעַם וְכָל־נְתִיבֹתֶיהָ שָׁלוֹם *(all) her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace;* 8. 19 טוֹב פִּרְיִי מֵחָרוּץ ... וּתְבוּאָתִי מִכֶּסֶף ... *better is my fruit than gold,* even five gold, *and (better is) my income than* choice *silver.* Gen. 3. 6 (3 clauses); 18. 20; 31. 43 (4 clauses), Ex. 16. 31, Deu. 10. 21, Pr. 17. 25; 18. 7, Song 8. 6, Ecc. 7. 1.

(*b*) Verbal conj. sents., Ex. 23. 8 כִּי הַשֹּׁחַד יְעַוֵּר פִּקְחִים וִיסַלֵּף דִּבְרֵי צַדִּיקִים for *a bribe blinds officials, and (a bribe) subverts the words* of those in the right; Deu. 2. 30 ... כִּי־הִקְשָׁה יְ׳ ... וְאִמֵּץ for *Y.* your God *hardened* his spirit *and (Y.) made* his heart *obstinate;* Ps. 37. 30 ... פִּי־צַדִּיק יֶהְגֶּה ... וּלְשׁוֹנוֹ יְדַבֵּר *the mouth of the righteous utters* wisdom, *and his tongue speaks* justice; 96. 11 יִשְׂמְחוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְתָגֵל הָאָרֶץ *let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad;* 103. 9 לֹא־לָנֶצַח יָרִיב וְלֹא־לְעוֹלָם יִטּוֹר *he will not always chide, nor will he keep (his anger) for ever.* Gen. 3. 14; 22. 17; 27.40; 41. 40; 49. 11, Ex. 9. 29; 34. 13, Deu. 2. 28; 6. 13, Is. 43. 6; 56. 1; 66. 8, Hos. 7. 1; Joel 2. 1; Ps. 19. 3, 5; 25. 9; 26. 5, 6; 85. 13; 91. 7; 104. 30, 32; 138. 7, Pr. 2. 21; 3. 13; 5. 8; 8. 1; 10. 1; 14. 19; 19. 5, 9.

(*c*) There are many cases of mixed conj. sents., e.g. with a nominal

and a verbal clause, Pr. 16. 15; 19. 6; and in others the parallism of elements is rather imprecise, Pr. 11. 2; 16. 21; 18. 19; 30. 30, Job 9. 25, 26. When this goes too far, it is hardly possible any longer to speak of a conj. sent., but only of a loose compound sent.

Chiastic Sentences

§ 140. Chiastic sent. are, unlike conjunctive, strictly two clause structures. They are not simply for variety or rhetorical effect, but have a definite purpose. By reversing in the second clause the word-order of the first, they tie the two clauses more closely together than conj. sents. and make the events or situations of which they speak in effect two sides of a single whole. Chiasmus can occur with the same end in a contrastive or antithetical sent. when it overshadows, though it does not remove, the opposition. The first clause may be worked into a prose sequence, in which case the second halts it; but the construction is also common in more independent sentences in prose discourse and in poetry. Any clausal element - verb, subj., obj. or other - may be chosen for reversal. Ellipsis is found, but it is not so common as in the looser structured conj. sentence.

(*a*) In prose. Narrative: Gen. 1. 5 וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לָאוֹר יוֹם וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא לָיְלָה *God called the light day and (but) the darkness he called night;* 21. 1 ... וַיהוָה פָּקַד אֶת־שָׂרָה ... וַיַּעַשׂ יהוָה לְשָׂרָה *and Y. visited S.* as he had said, *and Y. did to S.* as he had spoken; 37. 11 וַיְקַנְאוּ־בוֹ אֶחָיו וְאָבִיו שָׁמַר אֶת־הַדָּבָר *and his brothers were jealous of him, while (but) his father kept the saying in mind;* Ex. 40. 34 ... וּכְבוֹד יהוָה מָלֵא ... וַיְכַס הֶעָנָן *and the cloud covered* the tent of meeting, *and the glory of Y. filled* the tabernacle. Gen. 7. 10 and 11, 12, 18-19; 14. 10(*b*), 16; 25. 5-6, 28; 31. 47; 39. 4; 40. 21-22; 41. 51-52, 54; 43. 15; 45. 14, Ex. 3. 7; 9. 23; 14. 6; 20. 18; 24. 6, Deu. 3. 6-7; 6. 22-23, Jud. 7. 25. Negative, Ex. 16. 18.

Predictive discourse: Gen. 12. 3 וַאֲבָרְכָה מְבָרְכֶיךָ וּמְקַלֶּלְךָ אָאֹר *and I shall bless those who bless you and curse him who curses you;* 34. 16 וְנָתַנּוּ אֶת־בְּנוֹתֵינוּ לָכֶם וְאֶת־בְּנֹתֵיכֶם נִקַּח־לָנוּ *and we shall give our daughters to you and take your daughters to ourselves.* Gen. 47. 24, Ex. 12. 12; 15. 26; 21. 35; 25. 21, Lev. 4. 7; 5. 9, Deu. 10. 16.

Precative discourse: Gen. 44. 33 וְעַתָּה יֵשֶׁב־נָא עַבְדְּךָ ... וְהַנַּעַר יַעַל and now, *let your servant remain in place of the lad ... and let the lad go up with his brothers.* Gen. 1. 20; 14. 21; 22. 5; 44. 1. Prohibition, Gen. 37. 22.

(*b*) In poetry, espec. proverbial, Jer. 4. 5 הַגִּידוּ בִיהוּדָה וּבִירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם הַשְׁמִיעוּ *declare in Judah and in Jer. proclaim;* Ps. 107. 16 כִּי־שִׁבַּר דַּלְתוֹת נְחֹשֶׁת וּבְרִיחֵי־בַרְזֶל גִּדַּע for *he shatters the doors of bronze and the bars of iron he cuts in two;* Pr. 9. 10 תְּחִלַּת חָכְמָה יִרְאַת יְהוָה וְדַעַת קְדֹשִׁים בִּינָה *the fear of Y. is the beginning of wisdom, and knowledge of the Holy One is understanding.* Is. 2. 11; 5. 7; 22. 22; 40. 12; 42. 4, Jer. 2. 19; 6. 25, Am. 4. 7, Hab. 2. 1, Zeph. 3. 19, Ps. 7. 17; 22. 13; 147. 4, Pr. 3. 18; 4. 14; 6. 23; 10. 3, 4, 11, 12; 12. 4, 22; 25. 26, Job 20. 6.

Contrastive Sentences

§ 141. These, like chiastic sents., are essentially binary in structure. They achieve their end by highlighting in initial position in each clause the two persons or other entities which are brought into opposition. These may be either subj. or obj., or a prepos. phrase may be used. The opposition is relatively mild, rarely total as in antithetical sents., and need not always be rendered by Engl. *but.* Where *but* is used, it has the sense of *on the other hand* rather than *on the contrary.*

Gen. 3. 15 הוּא יְשׁוּפְךָ רֹאשׁ וְאַתָּה תְּשׁוּפֶנּוּ עָקֵב *he* will crush you in the head, *and you* will crush him in the heel; 13. 12 אַבְרָם יָשַׁב ... וְלוֹט ... יָשַׁב *Abram* dwelt in the land of Can., *while Lot* dwelt among the cities of the valley; Ex. 16. 12 ... בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם ... וּבַבֹּקֶר *at twilight* you shall eat flesh, *and in the morning* you shall be filled with bread. Gen. 27. 11; 29. 17; 42. 13, 32, 33; 44. 10, 17, Ex. 1. 22; 4. 16; 7. 12; 13. 13; 14. 14, 16, 17; 16. 13; 21. 4, Deu. 3. 9, 12-13; 4. 21, Ecc. 2. 13. Very common in poetry, especially in sayings contrasting God and man, the wise and the foolish, etc. Ps. 119. 113 סֵעֲפִים שָׂנֵאתִי וְתוֹרָתְךָ אָהָבְתִּי *double-minded men* I hate, *but your law* I love; Pr. 10. 1 ... בֵּן חָכָם ... וּבֵן כְּסִיל *a wise son* makes a glad father, *but a foolish son* is a sorrow to his mother. Is. 1. 27-28; 42. 9; 53. 6; 64. 7, Ps. 18. 26; 96. 5; 102. 27; 103. 15, 17, Pr. *passim* (e.g. all but a few *vss.* in ch. 10), Ecc. 7. 4.

Antithetical Sentences

§ 142. Hebr. lacks the variety of adversative particles possessed by Engl. (*but, yet, however, nevertheless,* etc.) and has to make do mostly with *Vav,* though other conjunctions are occasionally used. Antithesis is expressed by the use of antonyms in both clauses or, more frequently, by

negation of the first or the second clause. When, following a strong positive statement, it is the second clause that has a negative, the prominent word in the antithesis is usually highlighted by being placed first. Sents. of this kind, like sents. with antonyms, may be chiastic or contrastive in form; in the first the antithesis is not cancelled out by bringing the two clauses together, while in the second the contrast is enhanced. The subj. or obj. also occupy first position when a preceding negative clause is implied but not actually written (ellipsis). When, however, a first clause has the negative, there is no need for a special order in the second; it is in this type of sent. that the *Vav* may be replaced by another conjunction, notably כִּי or כִּי אִם. Antithetical relationships do not greatly differ from exclusive (§ 144), and the two kinds of sent. sometimes overlap.

(*a*) Antithesis by antonyms. Ex. 10. 23 וַיְהִי חֹשֶׁךְ־אֲפֵלָה *and there was thick darkness* in all the land of Egypt, *but* to all the children of Israel הָיָה אוֹר *there was light* in their dwellings. Gen. 29. 31, Ex. 20. 10, Deu. 2. 11, Ps. 1. 6 (also chiastic); 18. 27; 145. 20, Pr. 10. 1 and frequently (many also contrastive).

(*b*) Antithesis by negation after positive statement. Gen. 4. 5 and Y. had regard for Abel and his offering וְאֶל־קַיִן וְאֶל־מִנְחָתוֹ לֹא שָׁעָה *but for Cain and his offering he had no regard* (with chiasmus); Ex. 19. 24 Go down ... וְהַכֹּהֲנִים וְהָעָם אַל־יֶהֱרְסוּ *but let not the priests and the people break through.* Gen. 2. 16-17; 3. 3-4; 42. 4, Ex. 9. 6; 24. 2, Deu. 4. 12, Is. 5. 12 (first clause implied), Gen. 2. 20, Am. 4. 6.

(*c*) Antithesis after implied negation, in some cases clearly with ellipsis of whole first clause. Gen. 6. 8 וְנֹחַ מָצָא חֵן *but N.* found grace (also circumst., § 136*c*); Ps. 27. 10 (my mother and father have not taken me up) וַיי יַאַסְפֻנִי *but Y.* will take me up. Gen. 17. 21; 31. 5, 29; 41. 15, Deu. 4. 20, Ps. 2. 6; 22. 10, Is. 1. 2.

(*d*) Antithesis after negation. Introduced by *Vav*, Gen. 2. 6 Y. God had not caused it to rain ... וְאֵד יַעֲלֶה *but a mist* went up (circumst.). Gen. 42. 10, Ex. 5. 18; 12. 10. By *Vav* cons., Gen. 40. 23 the chief butler did not remember Jos. וַיִּשְׁכָּחֵהוּ *but* forgot him; Is. 11. 4 he shall not judge by what his eyes see ... וְשָׁפַט בְּצֶדֶק *but* he shall judge in righteousness the poor. Gen. 17. 5; 40. 23, Ex. 1. 17, Ps. 78. 68; 106. 8. After a question, Ps. 8. 6.

Introduced by כִּי. Is. 11. 9 they shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain כִּי־מָלְאָה הָאָרֶץ *but* (not *for*) the earth shall be full of the knowledge of Y. Gen. 3. 5; 17. 15; 18. 15, Ex. 4. 10, Deu. 4. 22; 5. 3, Ps. 103. 11. The antithetical meaning of כִּי following a neg. is not sufficiently taken into account by translators. Introduced by כִּי אִם. Ps. 1. 2 blessed is the man who does not walk ... כִּי אִם־בְּתוֹרַת יי חֶפְצוֹ *but* his delight is in the law of Y. (also *vs.* 4). Gen. 32. 29; 35. 10, Nu. 10. 30, Deu. 7. 5 (cf. *vs.* 3), 1 S. 21. 5, 2 K. 23. 9, Jer. 16. 14, 15.

Rem. 1. A more pronounced adversative conj. is אוּלָם, וְאוּלָם *but, howbeit;* it need not follow a negative. Gen. 28. 19, Ex. 9. 16, Nu. 14. 21, 1 K. 20. 23, Mic. 3. 8, Job 2. 5; 5. 8; 11. 5; 13. 3, 4; 14. 18. So אֲבָל in later passages (§ 116*c*).

Compound Sentences with Other Conjunctions

The relationships of inclusion (*also*), exclusion (*except*) and disjunction (*or*) are expressed by other conjunctions.

Inclusive Sentences

§ 143. On גַּם and אַף joining nouns (גַּם even across clauses) see § 38*a*. When the verb is included in the reference they coordinate clauses. The sequence גַּם(וְ) ... גַּם is *both ... and*, with a neg. *neither ... nor;* וְ ... גַּם is also found, but אַף ... אַף does not occur with nouns, though it does occasionally with verbs. The role of the two conjs. is broadly to bring the second clause within the reference of the first. As in the case of antithetical sents., there may be ellipsis of the first clause (or part of either clause). Sometimes גַּם and אַף imply *addition* rather than inclusion, cf. Engl. *also* = *moreover* rather than *also* = *as well.* There is a special usage of אַף כִּי *how much the more, less.*

(*a*) Inclusion by גַּם. In a conjunctive sent. גַּם enhances the similarity between the two clauses, 1 S. 26. 25 גַּם עָשֹׂה תַּעֲשֶׂה וְגַם יָכֹל תּוּכָל you will *both* do much *and* succeed therein. Ex. 34. 3, Nu. 23. 25, Is. 44. 12; 49. 25, Mal. 3. 15, Pr. 14. 13. So in a chiastic sent., Gen. 4. 3-4. In a contrastive sent. גַּם neutralises the contrast, Gen. 44. 9 with whomever ... וְגַם־אֲנַחְנוּ נִהְיֶה *and we also shall be* my lord's slaves. Gen. 13. 5 (cf. *vs.* 2); 24. 44, Ex. 21. 25. Otherwise, Gen. 3. 22 lest he put forth his hand

וְלָקַח גַּם מֵעֵץ הַחַיִּים *and take also of the tree of life.* Gen. 29. 27, 30; 32. 19, Ex. 7. 11 (twice), Nu. 11. 4 (cf. *vs.* 2), Deu. 3. 3, 20, Is. 49. 15, Jer. 2. 33, Hos. 4. 6 (a complex sent.), Pr. 16. 7 (complex); 22. 6. With the first clause implicit, Gen. 3. 6 וַתִּתֵּן גַּם־לְאִישָׁהּ *and she also gave to her husband* (it is implied but not said that she gave to herself); Deu. 12. 31 כִּי גַם אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם וְאֶת־בְּנֹתֵיהֶם יִשְׂרְפוּ for they *even* (*also*) burn their sons and daughters in the fire to their gods (i.e. as well as their animals). Is. 14. 10, Jer. 2. 6; 4. 12, Nah. 3. 11.

Exx. of אַף, Gen. 40. 16 אַף־אֲנִי בַּחֲלוֹמִי *I also* (had a dream, and) *in my dream;* Is. 41. 26 אַף אֵין־מַגִּיד אַף אֵין מַשְׁמִיעַ אַף אֵין־שֹׁמֵעַ אִמְרֵיכֶם *there was none* who declared it *nor any* who proclaimed it *nor any* who heard your words. Deu. 15. 17, 1 S. 2. 7, Is. 40. 24; 41. 10; 46. 11, Ps. 16. 9.

(*b*) With additional but no obvious inclusive force. גַּם: Gen. 27. 3 גַּם־בָּרוּךְ יִהְיֶה *yes, and he shall be blessed.* Jud. 20. 48, Is. 13. 3; 14. 8; 43. 13; 48. 8, Jer. 46. 16. Am. 4. 6, 7, Ps. 107. 5. אַף: Gen. 18. 24 הַאַף תִּסְפֶּה shall you *then* destroy the place? Gen. 48. 13 (RSV *indeed*) Deu. 33. 3, 28 (RSV *yea*), Ps. 18. 49 (RSV *yea*); 65. 14; 93. 1 (RSV *yea*), Job 14. 3.

(*c*) A particular kind of inclusion (or addition) is expressed by אַף כִּי. The original sense may appear in Gen. 3. 1 אַף כִּי־אָמַר א׳ *is it also* (a fact) *that* God said? But the double conj. is mostly used in the sense *how much the more* or (after a neg.) *less.* The reference is to what was said in the previous (relevant) clause, which is to be assumed if necessary. There is usually ellipsis of this clause in the clause with אַף כִּי. The whole statement is often introduced by הֵן or הִנֵּה. Pr. 11. 31 behold, the righteous is requited on earth אַף כִּי־רָשָׁע וְחוֹטֵא *how much more* the wicked and the sinner (will be requited). 1 S. 14. 30, 2 S. 16. 11, Pr. 15. 11; 19. 7. 1 K. 8. 27 behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain you אַף כִּי־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה *how much less* can this house (contain you). Pr. 17. 7, Job 9. 14; 15. 16; 25. 6.

Rem. 1. Both גַּם and אַף mean *also* or *in addition.* The nuance of emphasis carried by renderings like *even, indeed, yea,* etc. is, strictly speaking, illegitimate. See § 38*a.*

Exclusive Sentences

§ 144. The conjunctions רַק and אַךְ exclude the second clause from the reference of the first; or, when there is nothing in it from which

exclusion may be made, they may simply limit or restrict it adverbially. Commonly the antithetical כִּי אִם (§ 142*d*) may, after a neg., express an exclusive relationship, while the exclusive אַךְ may express an antithetical relationship. On nominal exclusion, where not only רַק and אַךְ but a (surprising) variety of adverbs (adnominals) or prepp. may be used, see § 38*b*. Some of these may, with אֲשֶׁר or אִם added, become conjunctions and coordinate clauses.

(*a*) Exclusion by רַק or אַךְ. Gen. 47. 22 and Jos. bought all the land of Eg. ... רַק אַדְמַת הַכֹּהֲנִים לֹא קָנָה *except that* he did not buy the land of the priests. Gen. 9. 4 every moving thing shall be food for you ... אַךְ־בָּשָׂר בְּנַפְשׁוֹ דָמוֹ לֹא תֹאכֵלוּ *except that* (*only*) you shall not eat flesh with its life, its blood. Ex. 8. 25; 12. 16, Lev. 21. 23, Nu. 1. 49, Deu. 20. 16, Jos. 3. 4; 11. 13, 2 S. 3. 13, 1 K. 2. 3.

(*b*) As adverbs of limitation. רַק: Gen. 24. 8 then you will be free from this oath of mine רַק אֶת־בְּנִי לֹא תָשֵׁב שָׁמָּה *only* you must not take my son back there. Gen. 19. 8; 20. 11, Deu. 2. 28; 10. 15, Is. 4. 1, Job 2. 6. More frequently אַךְ, with (apparently) sometimes an asseverative force like *surely*: Gen. 26. 9 אַךְ הִנֵּה אִשְׁתְּךָ הִוא *but* see, she is your wife; 29. 14 אַךְ עַצְמִי וּבְשָׂרִי אָתָּה *surely* you are my bone and my flesh. Gen. 34. 23 (*only*); 44. 28 (*surely*), Nu. 14. 9 (*only*), Jud. 3. 24 (*just*); 7. 19 (*just*), 1 S. 1. 23 (*only*), 1 K. 22. 32 (*surely*), Is. 63. 8 (*surely*), Jer. 3. 13 (*only*); 5. 4 (*only*), Hos. 12. 9 (*but*).

(*c*) Antithesis (*however, nevertheless*) expressed by אַךְ. 2 S. 2. 10 Ishbosheth was forty years old when he began to reign over Israel אַחֲרֵי דָוִד ... אַךְ בֵּית יְהוּדָה הָיוּ *but* the house of Jud. followed D. Deu. 18. 20, 1 S. 29. 6, 2 S. 3. 13, 1 K. 17. 13, 2 K. 13. 6; 22. 7, Is. 14. 15; 43. 24, Jer. 28. 7; 30. 11, Ez. 46. 17, Zech. 1. 6.

(*d*) Exclusion expressed by כִּי אִם after neg. Gen. 32. 27 I will not let you go כִּי אִם־בֵּרַכְתָּנִי *except* you bless me. Gen. 28. 17; 42. 15, Lev. 22. 6, Is. 55. 10, Am. 3. 7, Ru. 3. 18. After interr., Mic. 6. 8.

(*e*) Exclusion (antithesis) with other conjunctions. אֶפֶס כִּי, Nu. 13. 28 (*yet*), Deu. 15. 4 (*but*), Jud. 4. 9 (*nevertheless*), Am. 9. 8 (*except*); אֶפֶס alone, 1 S. 12. 14 (*nevertheless*). בִּלְתִּי אִם, Am. 3. 3 (*unless*); בִּלְתִּי alone, Gen. 43. 3 (*unless*), Is. 10. 4 (*except*).

Disjunctive Sentences

§ 145. The conj. אוֹ coordinates at sentence as well as at phrase level; on nominal disjunction see § 38*c*. Ellipsis is common. There is indeed properly ellipsis of the subj. and verb even in "nominal" disjunction; thus Ex. 21. 4 וְיָלְדָה־לּוֹ בָנִים אוֹ בָנוֹת *and* (*if*) *she bears him sons or* (if she bears him) *daughters*. But since the verb is the same, the disjunctive weight is carried by the nominal alternatives. A fully disjunctive sentence has different verbs in each clause. Most occur in alternative conditions in legal texts. Note that כִּי but not אִם may be preceded by אוֹ, though אוֹ may be used when אִם is omitted. Ex. 21. 33 וְכִי *if* (*when*) ... אוֹ כִי *or if* (*when*) ..., cf. *vs.* 36, Lev. 5. 1-4, Nu. 5. 30; 35. 16-23. Other exx. of אוֹ, Nu. 11. 8 they gathered (the manna) וְטָחֲנוּ בָרֵחַיִם אוֹ דָכוּ בַּמְּדֹכָה and ground it in mills *or* beat it in a mortar. Ex. 4. 11 (the same verb in two senses), Mal. 2. 17, Job 16. 3.

COMPOUND SENTENCES WITH APPOSITION. ASYNDETON

§ 146. As in the case of nouns (§ 39) *apposition* links clauses more closely than coordination and (Andersen) should not be regarded as a mere stylistic variation of it. Apposition presupposes some kind of equivalence or overlap in reference between two (sometimes more) clauses. The clause in apposition repeats or is broadly synonymous with the preceding clause, or by means of a negative or an antonym sets up an antithesis to it. Or it extends the preceding clause by making specific or explicit something hinted at or merely implied in it, or more generally by spelling out or interpreting its significance. Chiasmus goes well with all kinds of apposition.

Asyndeton, on the other hand, is simply the omission of *Vav*. It applies when, as in heterogeneous discourse, there is no obvious semantic connection between the clauses or when, as in consecutive passages, particularly in poetry, there is merely continuity between them.

§ 147. *Apposition* (*a*) enhances the similarity between two clauses. Gen. 3. 16 הַרְבָּה אַרְבֶּה עִצְּבוֹנֵךְ ... בְּעֶצֶב תֵּלְדִי בָנִים *I will greatly multiply your pain* in childbearing, *in pain you shall bring forth children;* Ex. 18. 18 כָּבֵד מִמֵּךְ הַדָּבָר לֹא־תוּכַל עֲשֹׂהוּ לְבַדֶּךָּ *the matter is too heavy for you; you cannot do it alone*. Gen. 15. 1; 31. 36; 43. 9, Ex. 1. 14; 14. 3; 22. 26,

Lev. 2. 13, Deu. 7. 6. Sometimes the second clause distributes as well as repeats, Gen. 41. 12 he interpreted to us our dreams אִישׁ כַּחֲלֹמוֹ פָּתָר (*to*) *each man according to his dream he interpreted.* Ex. 12. 4; 16. 8. In some older narrative passages such an apposition seems used to slow the pace of the story, a survival perhaps from the parallelism of a poetic original, Gen. 41. 48 he put food in the cities נָתַן ... אֹכֶל שְׂדֵה־הָעִיר בְּתוֹכָהּ *food from the field(s)* which surround (every) city *he put in it.* Gen. 7. 7-9, 21-22; 8. 18-19. In future discourse, Gen. 6. 17 I shall bring the flood of waters upon the earth to destroy all flesh כֹּל אֲשֶׁר־בָּאָרֶץ ... יִגְוָע *all who are in the earth shall perish.* Ex. 12. 8, 14.

(*b*) When a negative or antonym is present, apposition enhances the opposition between the clauses, Gen. 42. 31 כֵּנִים אֲנָחְנוּ לֹא הָיִינוּ מְרַגְּלִים *we are honest men; we are not spies.* Gen. 11. 30; 31. 39; 45. 9; 48. 10; 50. 20, Ex. 8. 27; 10. 26, Deu. 9. 7.

(*c*) Apposition is also used for purposes of explanation. Thus specifying or making explicit the first clause, Gen. 21. 14 and he gave (them) to Hagar שָׂם עַל־שִׁכְמָהּ *he placed* (placing) (*them*) *upon her shoulder;* 47. 9 the days of the years of my sojourning are 130 years מְעַט וְרָעִים הָיוּ יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיַּי *few and evil have been the days of the years of my life.* Gen. 1. 27; 6. 9, 19; 15. 15; 18. 11; 23. 11; 42. 9, Ex. 19. 12; 23. 15; 36. 35, Deu. 9. 16. Or interpreting it in various ways, Gen. 44. 12 and he searched בַּגָּדוֹל הֵחֵל וּבַקָּטֹן כִּלָּה *he began with the eldest and finished with the youngest;* Deu. 7. 5 but thus shall you deal with them מִזְבְּחֹתֵיהֶם תִּתֹּצוּ *you shall break down their altars,* etc. Gen. 3. 15; 9. 2, 5; 16. 12; 27. 36; 41. 13; 42. 36, Ex. 9. 27; 20. 8-10.

In headings or introductions and in summaries or conclusions what follows or precedes is in effect in apposition. Gen. 9. 13 this is the sign of the covenant ... אֶת־קַשְׁתִּי נָתַתִּי בֶּעָנָן *I will set my bow in the clouds.* Gen. 5. 1; 10. 1; 11. 10; 17. 10; 20. 13; 43. 11. Gen. 6. 22 and N. did (this); all that God commanded him כֵּן עָשָׂה *so he did.* Gen. 2. 4 (if 4(a) refers to what has gone before); 10. 20; 22. 23; 25. 18; 35. 26, Ex. 19. 6. Similarly, in curses and blessings the second clause details what will happen as a result, Gen. 9. 25 אָרוּר כְּנָעַן עֶבֶד עֲבָדִים יִהְיֶה לְאֶחָיו *cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers.* Gen. 3. 14, 17.

Sometimes apposition is used in place of qualifying subordinate clauses, causal or relative. In place of כִּי, Gen. 17. 14 any uncircumcised

male ... shall be cut off from his people אֶת־בְּרִיתִי הֵפַר *he has broken my covenant.* Ex. 12. 11. In place of אֲשֶׁר, Gen. 48. 7 and I buried her there on the way to Ephrath הִוא בֵּית לָחֶם *that is, Bethlehem.* Gen. 2. 11, 13, 14; 15. 13; 4. 20, 21; 36. 1, and frequently in poetry (see *d*).

(*d*) In poetry apposition is ubiquitous. The parallelistic structure favours it, especially the synonymous and antithetic. The ellipsis of the relative אֲשֶׁר, which is so characteristic of poetry, supplies many examples. Synonymous: Is. 1. 2 יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יָדַע עַמִּי לֹא הִתְבּוֹנָן *Isr. does not know, my people does not consider.* Is. 9. 5, Ps. 2. 7; 6. 6, 7, Job 4. 5, 6; 9. 21, etc. Antithetic: Is. 1. 2 the ox knows its owner .. (*but*) *Israel does not know,* etc. (as above); 43. 17 יִשְׁכְּבוּ בַל־יָקוּמוּ *they lie down, they cannot rise.* Pr. 10. 15, 20; 12. 5 and *passim.* Explanatory: Is. 13. 4 hark, a tumult on the mountains ... יְ׳ צְבָאוֹת מְפַקֵּד צְבָא מִלְחָמָה *Y. of hosts is mustering a host for battle.* Is. 5. 5; 9. 18, Am. 4. 12, Ps. 64. 2; 84. 11; 100. 3, Job 9. 13, Lam. 2. 17, etc. For exx. of omission of אֲשֶׁר see § 11, 12.

§ 148. *Asyndeton.* (*a*) In prose it is found in loosely structured discourse, as e.g. Gen. 4. 9-12; 18. 24-25; 47. 5-6; Deu. 5. 2-5; Jon. 1. 6; Ecc. 4. 13-16. Espec. in precative discourse; so regularly in the use of an imper. like *come, arise,* etc. along with another imper. or a cohort., Gen. 11. 3, 4, 7; 13. 14; 19. 32, Ex. 6. 11, 2 S. 1. 15. But also in lists of instructions, etc., as in the Ten Commandments (Ex. 20. 2-14) or the Aaronic benediction (Nu. 6. 24-26). Two questions without clear common content may also be set out without *Vav,* Ex. 17. 2. On the whole, however, asyndeton is not a frequent feature of prose style, hardly occurring instead of *Vav* cons. constructions in sequential narrative, or in predictive or even precative discourse.

(*b*) On the other hand asyndeton, whether arising from the omission of simple or consec. *Vav,* is as characteristic of poetry as is apposition. It is, of course, the (relative) independence of each unit of parallelism which leads to this. The best way of distinguishing the two is to go through a number of poems of different kinds marking off examples of each. Thus in Ps. 19 *vss.* 4 (synon.), *vss.* 9-11 and 12 (explan.) are app., *vss.* 8-11 are asynd.; in Ps. 51 *vss.* 3 and 19 are app. (synon.), *vss.* 9-11 and 20 are asynd.; in Ps. 90 *vss.* 6-9 (synon.) and 10 (explan.) are app., *vss.* 13-16 are asynd.; in Pr. 3 *vss.* 7 (explan.), 16 and 18 (synon.) and 21 (antith.) are app., *vss.* 3, 19-20, 24 and 27-31 are asynd.; in Is. 40. 1-11, *vss.* 3 and 7 are app.

(synon.), *vss.* 9 and 11 are asynd. Note how in a series of clauses the intrusion of a *Vav*, usually between the last two clauses, is a give-away sign of asynd. rather than app., cf. Ps. 5. 11, Pr. 3. 31, Is. 40. 11. The above exx. are discourse; for asyndeton in poetic narrative or report see Ex. 15. 4-10, Ps. 74. 4-8, 12-17, Lam. 3. 43-66 (also some fut. discourse); contrast Ps. 78, which mainly uses *Vav* cons. (though in several *vss. Vav* is omitted, e.g. 12, 13, 15, 25, 30, etc.).

Sentences with Extraposition *(casus pendens)*

§ 149. Extraposition is simply a descriptive term and avoids the "case" implications of the traditional Latin term *casus pendens*. It refers to a construction, found in many languages, by which the prominent word (the chief semantic subject) in a sent. is "extraposed" or isolated at the beginning and followed by a full sent. in which it is resumed by a pronoun or pronom. suffix. This sent. may be verbal or nominal. Emphasis or focussing is involved, but the construction fulfils a number of roles beyond this, serving to pattern in various ways both individual sents. and longer passages (Kahn).

§ 150. *Form.* The resumptive pron. may be the subj. or obj. of the following sent. or figure as a suff. to a noun or in a prepos. phrase. As subj.: Gen. 42. 11 כֻּלָּנוּ בְּנֵי אִישׁ אֶחָד נַחְנוּ we are *all of us* sons of one man; Pr. 10. 22 בִּרְכַּת י׳ הִיא תַּעֲשִׁיר *the blessing of Y.* (*it*) makes rich; Ecc. 3. 15 מַה־שֶּׁהָיָה כְּבָר הוּא *what is* has already been. As obj.: Gen. 24. 27 אָנֹכִי בַּדֶּרֶךְ נָחַנִי י׳ Y. led *me* in the way; 28. 13 לְךָ ... הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה שֹׁכֵב עָלֶיהָ *the land* on which you lie I will give (*it*) to you; Is. 1. 7 אַדְמַתְכֶם זָרִים אֹכְלִים אֹתָהּ *your land* strangers devour (*it*) in your sight. So objective suff. after אֵין, Gen. 37. 30 הַיֶּלֶד אֵינֶנּוּ *the lad* (*he*) is no more; after עוֹד, Gen. 18. 22 וְאַבְרָהָם עוֹדֶנּוּ עֹמֵד and *Abr.* was still standing before Y. Otherwise: Gen. 34. 8 שְׁכֶם בְּנִי חָשְׁקָה נַפְשׁוֹ בְּבִתְּכֶם *Shechem my son - his* heart desires your daughter; Jud. 17. 5 וְהָאִישׁ מִיכָה לוֹ בֵּית א׳ *the man Micah* had a shrine.

Sometimes the extraposition is partial, Gen. 4. 15 כָּל־הֹרֵג קַיִן שִׁבְעָתַיִם יֻקָּם *anyone who slays Cain* - (on him) vengeance shall be taken sevenfold. Or instead of a pron. the noun may be repeated, Deu. 18. 19-20 הַנָּבִיא ... וּמֵת הַנָּבִיא הַהוּא *the prophet* who ... *that prophet* shall die;

or a synonym used, Jer. 13. 27 *your adulteries and neighings, your lewd harlotries* ... רָאִיתִי שִׁקּוּצַיִךְ I have seen *your foul deeds.* As in Deu. 18. 19-20 above, the following clause may begin with *Vav* cons. (*Vav apodosi*, §§ 71*d*, 79), especially if a relative or other clause intervenes. Ex. 9. 19, Nu. 21. 8, Is. 9. 4, Pr. 9. 16. Commonly הִנֵּה comes between, Gen. 17. 4 אֲנִי הִנֵּה בְרִיתִי אִתָּךְ behold, *my* covenant is with you. 6. 17; 9.9, Ecc. 1. 16.

Rem. 1. Though formally resumptive, הִיא/הוּא often functions as a mere copula, § 1*b*.

Rem. 2. טֶרֶם *not yet* is commonly preceded by the subj. in extraposition, Gen. 2. 5; 24. 15, 45, 1 S. 3. 3, 7.

Rem. 3. Sometimes the extraposed element is itself used with אֵת or a prep., which is resumed later. Kahn calls this pronominal agreement, and distinguishes it formally from extraposition, though it has more or less the same functions. Gen. 13. 15 כִּי אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ ... לְךָ אֶתְּנֶנָּה for *all the land* which you see I will give (*it*) to you (contrast 28. 13); 2 S. 6. 23 וּלְמִיכַל בַּת־שָׁאוּל לֹא הָיָה לָהּ יָלֶד *to M.*, d. of S. - there was no child *to her* (she had); Gen. 2. 17 וּמֵעֵץ הַדַּעַת ... לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ but *from the tree of knowledge* ... you shall not eat (*from it*). 2 S. 6. 22, 2 K. 22. 18, Jer. 50. 21, Ez. 18. 24. Pronominal agreement may also be anticipatory, Ex. 2. 6 וַתִּרְאֵהוּ אֶת־הַיֶּלֶד she saw *him - the child;* Nu. 32. 33 וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם מֹשֶׁה לִבְנֵי־גָד and M. gave *to them - to the sons of Gad*, etc. - the kingdom of Sihon. Ex. 35. 5, Jer. 51. 56.

§ 151. *Function.* (*a*) At sentence level extraposition is extensively used in the various types of sent., usually to facilitate the syntax when a noun or noun equivalent is required in initial position. In conjunctive sent.: Pr. 16. 20 he who considers a matter will find prosperity וּבוֹטֵחַ בַּי׳ אַשְׁרָיו and (but?) *he who trusts* in Y. - happy is he; Is. 9. 1 the people that walk in darkness ... יֹשְׁבֵי בְּאֶרֶץ צַלְמָוֶת אוֹר נָגַהּ עֲלֵיהֶם *they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death - on them* light has shone (appos.). Is. 1. 7 (app.), Ez. 30. 18; 32. 7, Ps. 125. 2, Job 22. 8, Ecc. 10. 8. In chiastic sent.: Pr. 11. 26 מֹנֵעַ בָּר יְקֻבָּהוּ לְאוֹם *he who keeps back* grain - the people curse *him*, but a blessing is on the head of him who sells it. Is. 3. 12, Pr. 12. 16, Job 38. 19. In contrastive sent.: 1 S. 25. 29 the life of my lord will be bound up in the bundle of life with Y. your God וְאֶת נֶפֶשׁ אֹיְבֶיךָ but *the life of your enemies* he will sling (*it*) out. Gen. 49. 8 (app.), Deu. 1. 38-39; 4. 3-4; 18. 14, Pr. 13. 3 (app.); 14. 21, Ecc. 2. 14. In antithetic sent.: Gen. 15. 4 this one shall not be your heir כִּי־אִם אֲשֶׁר

יֵצֵא מִמֵּעֶיךָ הוּא יִירָשֶׁךָ but *he who comes out* from your own loins - *he* shall be your heir. Gen. 2. 16-17; 42. 11 (app.); 44. 17, Deu. 1. 37-38 (app.), 2 K. 1. 4; 17. 36, Is. 8. 12-13 (app.), Ez. 33. 13, Pr. 11. 4, 2 Chr. 23. 6. In exclusive sent.: Ex. 12. 16, Nu. 22. 20, 35.

(*b*) In more extended passages of narrative or discourse its role (cf. Circumst. cl.) is macrosyntactic. Opening a speech (occasionally comprising a single sent.) or poem: Gen. 17. 15 שָׂרַי אִשְׁתְּךָ לֹא־תִקְרָא אֶת־ שְׁמָהּ שָׂרָי *as for S. your wife* - you shall not call *her* name S. Gen. 31. 12 (single sent.); 17. 4; 24. 27 (after initial blessing); 28. 13 (after initial self-identification); 34. 8, 1 K. 22. 14 (single sent.), Is. 27. 2, Jer. 50. 21, 1 Chr. 22. 7. Closure of speech or poem (or major sect.): Gen. 21. 13 וְגַם אֶת־ בֶּן־הָאָמָה לְגוֹי אֲשִׂימֶנּוּ and *the son of the slave woman* I will also make (*him*) into a nation; Ps. 18. 31 הָאֵל תָּמִים דַּרְכּוֹ (this) *God* - *his* way is perfect. Gen. 28. 22; 30. 33; 31. 16; 45. 20, Ex. 4. 9, Nu. 16. 11, Jer. 13. 27, Ps. 10. 5; 35. 8; 67. 5, Ecc. 1. 11. Within a speech or poem, marking a change of topic or theme: Jer. 12. 6 כִּי גַם־אַחֶיךָ וּבֵית־אָבִיךָ גַּם־הֵמָּה for *your brothers* too *and your father's house* - *they* too have dealt treacherously with you (shift from land in general to the prophet's family); Gen. 31. 40 (rare extrap. of verbal form) הָיִתִי בַיּוֹם אֲכָלַנִי חֹרֶב *as for my situation*, by day the heat consumed *me* (shift from Jacob's conduct to his suffering). Lev. 25. 44; 26. 36, Nu. 14. 31, 1 S. 12. 23, Is. 4. 3. Extrap. may also indicate a new episode in narrative: Jud. 4. 4 וּדְבוֹרָה אִשָּׁה נְבִיאָה ... הִיא שֹׁפְטָה now *Deb., a prophetess* ... (*she*) was judging Israel at that time. 1 S. 17. 24, 2 S. 21. 16, 1 K. 11. 26, Ez. 44. 15, 2 Chr. 15. 1. Sometimes a climax seems to be highlighted, Gen. 13. 15, Nu. 17. 3, 20, Jos. 1. 3, 1 K. 15. 13. Or an additional piece of information, Gen. 48. 7 וַאֲנִי בְּבֹאִי מִפַּדָּן מֵתָה עָלַי רָ׳ *much to my sorrow*, when I came from P., R. died (lit. *I ... upon me*). Gen. 47. 21, Deu. 14. 27, Jos. 11. 3, Jud. 17. 5, 2 S. 6. 23, 1 K. 12. 17.

(*c*) Extraposition is used commonly in legal texts to identify clearly the person to whom a ruling applies; the word extraposed (with a relative clause) is usually אִישׁ or אִשָּׁה, occasionally another noun. Lev. 17. 3-4 אִישׁ אִישׁ מִבֵּית יִ׳ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁחַט שׁוֹר ... דָּם יֵחָשֵׁב לָאִישׁ הַהוּא *any man of the house of I.* who kills an ox (if any man kills ...) ... blood guilt shall be imputed *to that man*. Gen. 17. 14 (*any uncircumcised male* who ...), Ex. 30. 33, 38, Lev. 7. 20 (הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר), 27 (id.); 13. 45 (*the leper who* ...);

15. 18; 17. 8, 10, 13; 22. 3, 18. Similarly נֶפֶשׁ *person* is frequently extraposed before כִּי *if, when,* Lev. 2. 1; 4. 2; 5. 1, 4, 15, 21; אָדָם, Lev. 1. 2; אִישׁ or אִשָּׁה, Lev. 12. 2; 13. 29, 38, 40.

QUESTIONS

§ 152. On interrogative pronouns (מִי, מָה) see § 7; on interr. adverbs (*why? where? when?* etc.), § 154, Rem. 3 below. The simple polar or *Yes - No* question

(*a*) May be asked without any particle, presumably by tone of voice. 2 S. 18. 29 שָׁלוֹם לַנַּעַר *is the child well?* 2 S. 11. 11 וַאֲנִי אָבוֹא אֶל־בֵּיתִי *shall I then go to my house?* 1 S. 21. 16 חָסֵר מְשֻׁגָּעִים אָנִי *am I in want of madmen?* Gen. 18. 12; 27. 24, Jud. 4. 16, 1 S. 16. 4; 22. 7, 15; 25. 11, 2 S. 9. 6; 16. 17; 19. 23; 23. 5, 1 K. 1. 24; 21. 7, Jon. 4. 11, Song 3. 3. Less frequently in *neg.* sent., 1 S. 20. 9, 2 K. 5. 26, Job 2. 10. Omission of particle is perhaps most common in rhetorical contexts, as when a previous statement is being strongly repudiated, Jud. 14. 16, 2 S. 11. 11, 2 K. 19. 11, Jer. 25. 29, Ez. 20. 31, Jon. 4. 11.

(*b*) But more commonly it uses the particle הֲ. Gen. 4. 9 הֲשֹׁמֵר אָחִי אָנֹכִי *am I my brother's keeper?* 24. 58 הֲתֵלְכִי עִם־הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *will you go* with this man? Gen. 18. 17; 43. 27, 29; 45. 3, 2 S. 7. 5, etc. So before יֵשׁ and אַיִן, Gen. 24. 23 הֲיֵשׁ בֵּית אָבִיךְ מָקוֹם לָנוּ לָלִין *is there room* for us to lodge in your father's house? Jud. 14. 3 הַאֵין בִּבְנוֹת אַחֶיךָ אִשָּׁה *is there not a woman* among your brother's daughters? Gen. 43. 7; 44. 19, Ex. 17. 7, Jud. 4. 20, 1 S. 9. 11, 2 K. 4. 13; 10. 15. — 1 K. 22. 7, 2 K. 3. 11, Jer. 7. 17.

In a question expecting the answer *No*, often used rhetorically, אִם may replace הֲ, Is. 29. 16 אִם־כְּחֹמֶר הַיֹּצֵר יֵחָשֵׁב *shall the potter be regarded as the clay?* Jud. 5. 8, 1 K. 1. 27, Lam. 2. 20, Job 6. 12, 28; 39. 13. There is (ideally) suppression of a prot., cf. אִם in Oaths.

(*c*) The *neg.* question is put by הֲלֹא, Gen. 13. 9 הֲלֹא כָל־הָאָרֶץ לְפָנֶיךָ *is not all the land* before you? 4. 7; 20. 5; 44. 5, Ex. 14. 12, Nu. 23. 26, Deu. 31. 17. Or by הַאֵין when the existence of the subj. is questioned (§ 52) or when the pred. is a ptcp. (§ 113*d*). 1 K. 22. 7, Jud. 14. 3 (above, *b*), Jer. 7. 17, Am. 2. 11. Occasionally the elements of הֲלֹא are separated, Gen. 18. 25.

Rem. 1. The interr. particle, positive or negative, may be strengthened by אַף, Gen. 18. 13, 24, Am. 2. 11, Job 40. 8, or גַּם, Gen. 16. 13. These particles are properly inclusive, though often translated *indeed*, etc.

Rem. 2. The particle הֲלֹא implying an affirmative answer is in effect equivalent to הֲנֵה, Gen. 37. 13, Deu. 3. 11 and often. In Chr. הִנֵּה is sometimes used for הֲלֹא of earlier books, comp. 2 Chr. 16. 11 with 1 K. 15. 23. See 1 Chr. 29. 29, 2 Chr. 27. 7; 32. 32, and Sept. ἰδού for הֲלֹא, Deu. 3. 11, Jos. 1. 9, Jud. 6. 14, Est. 10. 2.

§ 153. The disjunctive or alternative question is put by הֲ in first clause, and אִם or וְאִם in second. Jos. 5. 13 הֲלָנוּ אַתָּה אִם לְצָרֵינוּ *are you for us or for our enemies?* 1 K. 22. 15 הֲנֵלֵךְ אִם נֶחְדַּל *shall we go or forbear?* Or if negative, by אִם לֹא in second clause (or אִם אַיִן if יֵשׁ be in the first), commonly with ellipsis, Gen. 27. 21 הַאַתָּה זֶה בְּנִי אִם־לֹא *are you* my son *or not?* Ex. 17. 7 הֲיֵשׁ יי בְּקִרְבֵּנוּ אִם־אָיִן *is Y.* in our midst *or not?* Gen. 17. 17, Jud. 9. 2; 20. 28, 1 K. 22. 6, 15, 2 K. 20. 9, Jer. 2. 14, Am. 6. 2, Job 7. 12. — 2 S. 24. 13, Joel 1. 2, Job 11. 2; 21. 4; 22. 3, cf. Pr. 27. 24. The second half of the alternative is often merely the first in a varied form. Nu. 11. 12, Job 8. 3; 22. 3. Gen. 37. 8, Jud. 11. 25, 2 S. 19. 36.

Rem. 1. Answers are usually made by repeating part of the question, or by the use of some word suggested by it. See ellipsis, § 132. Gen. 24. 58; 29. 6; 30. 34, Jos. 2. 4, 1 S. 17. 58; 23. 11, 12; 26. 17, 2 S. 2. 20; 9. 2; 12. 19, Am. 6. 10, Hag. 2. 12, 13.

Rem. 2. The question form is much used rhetorically, requiring assent or notice to be taken rather than reply. On interr. prons. so used, § 7. Gen. 27. 45, 1 S. 19. 17, 2 S. 2. 22; 20. 19, Is. 40. 21, Ecc. 5. 5, 2 Chr. 25. 16. See above § 152*a, b*; below R. 3, *a, c.*

Rem. 3. Interr. adverbs are mostly formed on the pron. מָה or the locative אִי:

(*a*) *Why? wherefore?* לָמָּה, וְלָמָּה; מַדּוּעַ, וּמַדּוּעַ; *why not?* לָמָּה לֹא, מַדּוּעַ לֹא. 1 S. 19. 17 לָמָּה כָּכָה רִמִּיתָנִי *why have you cheated me thus?* Gen. 12. 18 לָמָּה לֹא הִגַּדְתְּ לִי *why did you not tell me?* 1 S. 26. 15, 2 S. 16. 17; 19. 26. Exx. of לָמָּה, Gen. 27. 45, Ex. 32. 11, Nu. 20. 4, Jud. 12. 3, 1 K. 2. 22. Of מַדּוּעַ, Ex. 1. 18, Jud. 5. 28, 2 S. 11. 10, Is. 5. 4. The pron. מָה (§ *7b*) and combinations like עַל מָה are often used in the sense of *why?* Nu. 22. 32, Is. 1. 5, Jer. 9. 11, Job 13. 14.

Like the interr. pronouns, לָמָּה is often strengthened by זֶה (but not מַדּוּעַ). Gen. 18. 13 לָמָּה זֶּה צָחֲקָה שׂ׳ *why* (in the world) *did Sarah laugh?* Gen. 25. 22, 32, Ex. 5. 22, 2 S. 18. 22; 19. 43, Job 27. 12, cf. Jud. 18. 24, 1 K. 21. 5, 2 K. 1. 5. Rem. 4.

All these interr. may be used rhetorically as words of remonstrance, surprise, etc., and as exclamations.

(*b*) *Where?* אַי, אַיֵּה, אֵי זֶה, אֵיפֹה; *whither?* אָנָה, אֵי זֶה; *whence?* אַי, מֵאַיִן מִזֶּה. Gen. 4. 9 אֵי הֶבֶל אָחִיךָ *where* is Abel? Deu. 32. 37, 1 S. 26. 16. With suff., Ex. 2. 20 אַיּוֹ *where is he?* Gen. 3. 9, Is. 19. 12, Mic. 7. 10, Nah. 3. 17. Gen. 19. 5 אַיֵּה הָאֲנָשִׁים *where are* the men? 18. 9; 22. 7; 38. 21, Jud. 9. 38, 2 S. 9. 4, 2 K. 2. 14. Exx. of אֵיפֹה, Gen. 37. 16, 2 S. 9. 4, Is. 49. 21. Exx. of אָנָה, Gen. 16. 8; 37. 30, 2 S. 2. 1, Is. 10. 3; cf. 1 K. 22. 24 (אֵי זֶה). Exx. of מֵאַיִן, Gen. 42. 7; 29. 4, Nu. 11. 13, Jos. 2. 4, Jud. 17. 9, Is. 39. 3, Ps. 121. 1, Job 1. 7. Exx. of אֵי מִזֶּה, Gen. 16. 8, Jud. 13. 6, 1 S. 25. 11, 2 S. 1. 13.

(*c*) *How?* אֵיךְ, אֵיכָה; בַּמָּה (*by what?* Gen. 15. 8); *how not?* אֵיךְ לֹא. 2 S. 1. 5 אֵיךְ יָדַעְתָּ כִּי־מֵת שָׁאוּל *how do you know* that Saul is dead? *vs.* 14 *how not?* Deu. 18. 21, Jud. 20. 3, 1 K. 12. 6, 2 K. 17. 28, Ru. 3. 18. These adverbs are often used rhetorically, in remonstrance, Gen. 26. 9, Jer. 2. 23; repudiation or refusal, Gen. 39. 9; 44. 8, 34, Jos. 9. 7; the expression of hopelessness, Is. 20. 6, and so on. The form אֵיכָה *how!* usually raises the elegy, Is. 1. 21, Lam. 2. 1; 4. 1; but also אֵיךְ, 2 S. 1. 19, 25, 27.

(*d*) *How many?* כַּמָּה. 2 S. 19. 35 כַּמָּה יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיַּי *how many years have I still to live?* Gen. 47. 8, 1 K. 22. 16, Zech. 7. 3, Job 13. 23. Also *how much?* Zech. 2. 6; *how long?* Ps. 35. 17, Job 7. 10; *how often?* Ps. 78. 40, Job 21. 17, 2 Chr. 18. 15. *How long?* is also expressed by עַד־אָנָה, Ex. 16. 8, Nu. 14. 11; and (see below) by עַד־מָתַי.

(*e*) *When?* מָתַי. Am. 8. 5 מָתַי יַעֲבֹר הַחֹדֶשׁ *when will the new moon be over?* Gen. 30. 30, Ps. 42. 3; 101. 2, Pr. 6. 9, Job 7. 4. *Until when? how long?* עַד־מָתַי. Ex. 10. 7, 1 S. 1. 14, 1 K. 18. 21, Jer. 4. 14, Ps. 6. 4; 74. 10; 82. 2, Pr. 1. 22.

Rem. 4. The particle אֵיפֹה is (cf. זֶה) used to strengthen the question *who?* or *where?* etc. Gen. 27. 33, Ex. 33. 16, Jud. 9. 38, Is. 19. 12; 22. 1, Hos. 13. 10, Job 17. 15; 19. 23.

Wishes and Oaths

§ 154. The *wish* may be expressed by juss. or cohort. (§§ 67, 68). 2 S. 18. 32 יִהְיוּ כַנַּעַר אֹיְבֵי אֲדֹנִי *may* the enemies of my lord *be as* (*that*) *young man.* With or without נָא, 2 S. 24. 14 נִפְּלָה־נָּא *let us fall;* 1 S. 1. 23 יָקֵם יְ׳ דְּבָרוֹ *may Y. establish.* The passive ptcp. may also be used precatively, espec. in curse and blessing (§ 113*b*). Gen. 3. 14 אָרוּר אַתָּה *may you be cursed;* Is. 12. 5 מוּדַעַת זֹאת *may this be known.* The verb may be omitted, Gen. 27. 13 *on me* (be) *your curse!* 1 S. 25. 24, Ps. 3. 9.

§ 155. More formal wishes are expressed (*a*) by the conditional לוּ,

less usually אִם. Both QATAL and YIQTOL may follow. Nu. 14. 2 לוּ־מַתְנוּ בְּאֶרֶץ מ׳ *would we had died* in the land of Egypt; Nu. 20. 3, Jos. 7. 7. Is. 63. 19 לוּא קָרַעְתָּ שָׁמַיִם *O that you would rend* the heavens (§ 60*c*). Gen. 17. 18 לוּ יִשְׁ׳ יִחְיֶה *O that* Ishmael *might live;* Job 6. 2 לוּ שָׁקוֹל יִשָּׁקֵל כַּעְשִׁי *O that* my vexation *could be weighed.* With imper., Gen. 23. 13; ptcp., Ps. 81. 14. Ps. 139. 19 אִם תִּקְטֹל רָשָׁע *O that you would slay* the wicked. Ps. 81. 9; 95. 7, Pr. 24. 11.

(*b*) By an interr. sent. with מִי *who?* 2 S. 23. 15 מִי יַשְׁקֵנִי מַיִם *O that I had water to drink!* (lit., who will let me drink!). Ps. 4. 7 מִי יַרְאֵנוּ טוֹב *O that we might see* some good! Nu. 11. 4, 2 S. 15. 4, cf. Mal. 1. 10. Particularly the phrase מִי יִתֵּן *who will give?* 2 S. 19. 1 מִי יִתֵּן מוּתִי אֲנִי *would that I had died* instead of you! Ex. 16. 3. With verb, Job 6. 8 מִי יִתֵּן תָּבוֹא שְׁאֵלָתִי *O that* my request *might come!* Job 13. 5; 14. 13. Rem. 3.

Rem. 1. לוּ and אִם properly introduce condit. sents. without an apodosis, though it is not always possible to recover this; cf. Engl. *if only!* Passages like Gen. 24. 42, Ex. 32. 32 show the transition.

Rem. 2. The particle אַחֲלַי, אַחֲלֵי *would that* (derivation unknown) is only found in 2 K. 5. 3, Ps. 119. 5.

Rem. 3. The construction of מִי יִתֵּן varies. (1) Direct obj., Deu. 28. 67, Jud. 9. 29, Ps. 14. 7; 55. 7, Job 14. 4; 29. 2 (suff.); 31. 35. (2) Two obj., direct and indir. or compl., Nu. 11. 29, Jer. 8. 23; 9. 1. (3) Infin. constr., 2 S. 10. 1, Ex. 16. 3; as obj. compl., Job 11. 5. (4) A verb: obj. clause (no conjunction) with YIQTOL, Job 6. 8; 13. 5; 14. 13 (§ 90, R. 1); YIQTOL with *Vav*, Job 19. 23 (§ 90, R. 2); *Vav* cons. QATAL, Deu. 5. 26 (§ 71*a*); stative QATAL, Job 23. 3; ptcp., Job 31. 31.

§ 156. The *oath* does not need to have a special formula (Jud. 21. 1, 2 S. 21. 17), but two exist, commonly used together. These are —

(*a*) The introductory formula (of divinity) חַי יהוה, אֱלֹהִים, אֵל or (God speaking) חַי אֲנִי (invariably so pointed); (of humans) חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ, חֵי פַּרְעֹה. The formula is translated *as Y., Phar.*, etc. *lives,* but it is gramm. independent of what follows; the forms חֵי/חַי are variously interpreted as verbal, adjectival or nominal. Jud. 8. 19 חַי יהוה; 2 S. 2. 27 חַי הָאֱלֹהִים; Jer. 44. 26 חַי אֲדֹנָי י׳; Job 27. 2 חַי־אֵל. Cf. 1 K. 18. 10, 15. Nu. 14. 21, 28 חַי י׳ וְחֵי אֲנִי (Deu. 32. 40 אָנֹכִי). Gen. 42. 15 חֵי פַּרְעֹה; 2 S. 15. 21 חֵי י׳ וְחֵי נַפְשְׁךָ. Interestingly Am. 8. 14 חֵי אֱלֹהֶיךָ דָּן; 1 S. 20. 3 חֵי אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ

דָּן *as your god*, O Dan, *lives*.

(*b*) Following this formula or without it, a clause introduced by the conjunctions אִם לֹא, אִם or כִּי. With the conditionals an apod. (*May Y. do so to me*, etc., Rem. 3) sometimes precedes but is usually understood (ellipsis), so that a clause with אִם לֹא *if not* becomes the oath of affirmation and one with אִם *if* becomes the oath of denial. On the other hand, כִּי is used affirmatively, *surely, indeed*, properly (it is a fact) *that* (§ 116*c*); like כִּי *recitativum* (§ 90*b*), it in effect introduces the oath as direct speech, and is gramm. independent of what goes before, even if that should be, strangely, the clause *May Y. do so to me*. When there is a subordinate clause before the oath-clause, it commonly precedes each.

1 S. 19. 6 חַי יְ׳ אִם יָמוּת *he shall not be put to death;* 1 K. 1. 51 יִשָּׁבַע־ לִי כַּיּוֹם אִם יָמִית let him swear to me first (that) *he will not kill* me. Gen. 42. 15, 1 S. 24. 22; 30. 15. Jos. 14. 9 אִם־לֹא הָאָרֶץ ... לְךָ תִּהְיֶה לְנַחֲלָה and Moses swore, saying, *The land ... shall be an inheritance for you;* Job 1. 11 אִם לֹא יְבָרֶכְךָ (I swear) *he will curse* (lit. bless) *you* to your face. 2 K. 9. 26. 1 K. 18. 15 חַי יְ׳ כִּי הַיּוֹם אֵרָאֶה אֵלָיו as Y. lives, *surely I will show myself* to him today; Is. 45. 23 בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי ... כִּי לִי תִּכְרַע כָּל־בֶּרֶךְ I have sworn by myself ... (that) *to me every knee shall bow*. 1 S. 14. 44; 20. 3; 29. 6.

Rem. 1. Further exx. of אִם, Gen. 21. 23, Nu. 14. 23, 1 S. 3. 14, 17; 14. 45; 17. 55; 28. 10, 2 S. 11. 11; 14. 11, 2 K. 2. 2; 3. 14; 6. 31, Is. 22. 14, Ps. 89. 36; 132. 3, 4. Of אִם לֹא, Nu. 14. 28, 2 S. 19. 14, 1 K. 20. 23, Is. 5. 9; 14. 24, Jer. 15. 11. Of כִּי, Gen. 42. 16, 1 S. 14. 39 (repeated), 2 S. 3. 9 (repeated), 2 K. 5. 20, Jer. 22. 5. In many cases one can hardly speak of a formal oath, and the particles merely express strong denial or affirmation.

Rem. 2. It sometimes happens that כִּי אִם fall together. In 2 S. 3. 35 כִּי simply strengthens אִם which follows the clause *May Y. do so to me*, etc.; so in 1 S. 25. 34, where כִּי occurs twice, before subord. and main clause, but אִם carries the negative weight. In 1 S. 14. 39 כִּי first introduces the formula חַי יְ׳, then a subord. clause with אִם *if*, then an oath of affirmation, cf. Jer. 22. 24. Cf. in non-oath contexts כִּי אִם *for if* (Ex. 9. 2), *for though* (Is. 10. 22), (know) *that if* (Jer. 26. 15). All these cases should be distinguished from כִּי אִם as an antithetical or exclusive conjunction, *but, unless* (§§ 142*d*, 144*d*).

Rem. 3. The full formula כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה־לִי אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף *so may may God* (or יהוה) *do to me and more also* (lit. so may he add) occurs only in Sam., Kgs., Ruth, followed properly by אִם or אִם לֹא, conventionally by כִּי, e.g. 1 S. 3. 17 (אִם); 14. 44 (כִּי), 2 S. 19. 14 (אִם לֹא), 1 K. 2. 23 (כִּי), 2 K. 6. 31 (אִם), Ru.

1. 17 (כִּי). Usually לִי or לְךָ or the speaker's own name (1 S. 20. 13, 2 S. 3. 9) is used; it may have dropped out in 1 S. 14. 44; 25. 22 and been restored by Sept., but cf. 1 K. 19. 2.

EXCLAMATIONS

§ 157. The particle הִנֵּה often has exclamatory force (§ 54), as have the interr. prons. מָה/מִי (§ 7) and the interr. adverbs, espec. אֵיךְ/אֵיכָה *how!* (§ 154, R. 3), and in general wishes and oaths.

Nouns in direct address (the vocative) are in effect exclamations, as הַמֶּלֶךְ *O king!* אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ *my lord the king!* Cf. the particle of entreaty בִּי *excuse me*, always at the beginning of a speech with אֲדֹנִי or אֲדֹנָי, Gen. 44. 18. But many nouns and nomin. phrases may be uttered elliptically (without a verb) as exclamations, Gen. 43. 23, Jud. 6. 23 and often שָׁלוֹם לְךָ *peace* (be) *to you!* Gen. 44. 7 חָלִילָה לַעֲבָדֶיךָ מֵעֲשׂוֹת *far (be) it from* (lit. profanity to) *your servants that they should do!* With מֵי added to the phrase, 1 S. 26. 11 *Y. forbid that I should put forth!* 1 K. 22. 36 *every man to his city!* 2 K. 4. 19 רֹאשִׁי רֹאשִׁי *my head!* 11. 14 קֶשֶׁר קֶשֶׁר *treason!* Is. 13. 4 and often קוֹל *voice, sound of, hark, listen!* 29. 16 הַפְכְּכֶם *you turn things upside down!* Jer. 4. 19 מֵעַי מֵעַי *my bowels!* 37. 14 שֶׁקֶר (it's) *a lie!* Hos. 8. 1 *to your lips the trumpet!* Very commonly אַשְׁרֵי (plur. constr.) *O the joys of, blessed is!* Ps. 1. 1, etc. So adverbs: לֹא *no!* טוֹב good! well! 2 S. 13. 12 אַל־אָחִי *don't,* my brother! Also imper. of some verbs, as הָבָה (lit. *permit*) *go to! come now!* (Gen. 38. 16, Ex. 1. 10) or לְכָה, לֵךְ (even to a woman, Gen. 19. 32) *come!* See § 68.

More strictly exclamations are חַס *hush! silence!* Jud. 3. 19, Am. 6. 10, Hab. 2. 20, Zeph. 1. 7, Zech. 2. 17. — אוֹי *woe!* with prep. לְ, Is. 6. 5 אוֹי־לִי; 3. 9, 11, Jer. 4. 31. Without prep., Ez. 24. 6. Ps. 120. 5 אוֹיָה־לִי. With the same meaning אֲלַלַי לִי, Mic. 7. 1, Job 10. 15. — הוֹי *woe! alas!* in lament for the dead, 1 K. 13. 30 הוֹי אָחִי, cf. Jer. 22. 18; in the form הוֹ, Am. 5. 16. In a more general sense, Jer. 48. 1; 50. 27. Also in threatening remonstrance, Is. 1. 4 הוֹי גּוֹי חֹטֵא *ah!* sinful nation, and often in Is. — Other forms, Joel 1. 15 אֲהָהּ לַיּוֹם *alas!* for the day. Ez. 30. 2 חָהּ לַיּוֹם; 6. 11 אָח. — An exclamation of pleasure, הֶאָח, Is. 44. 16 *aha!;* by the horse in battle, Job 39. 25; of malicious pleasure, Ez. 25. 3; 26. 2, Ps. 35. 21; 40. 16; 70. 4.

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